DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
FEB 23 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JT
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

FROM

SOFIA

Dated February 21, 1940

Rec'd 6:55 p.m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 24 1940
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Secretary of State,

Washington.

15, February 21, 4 p.m.

Rumanian Minister of Finance arrives tomorrow "to return the visit" of Bulgarian Minister of Finance in the autumn of 1938. I am reliably informed visit is not connected with current Bulgarian-Rumanian trade negotiations.

Coming as it does shortly after the Balkan Entente conference at Belgrade at which Rumanian Foreign Minister is reported to have admitted that Bulgaria's claim to the southern Dobrudja was legitimate (see my telegram No. 11 of February 13) the visit is obviously a further step towards improving relations between the two countries. I can only assume that the visit is political and that the Dobrudja question will in all probability be discussed.

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771.74/105

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FEB 27 1940

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

771.74

771.74/106

SUBJECT

Possibilities of Rumania satisfying Bulgarian claims and ignoring those of Hungary. Conversation with Foreign Minister Csaky regarding -.

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel#40 noon
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Feb. 13, 1940 From Hungary (Montgomery)

File No. 764.65/206

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

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A-MC

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1184. Bucharest, January 10, 1940.

Subject: Departure of Bulgarian Minister.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
FEB 12 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Posting Office for	Distribution Instructions

771.74

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
FEB 9 1940
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
FEB 20 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 20 1940
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 21 1940
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that it was made known about a month ago that Mr. Sava Kiroff, Bulgarian Minister to Bucharest since April, 1936, had been transferred to Ankara. Yesterday Foreign Minister Gafencu gave in honor of Mr. Kiroff a luncheon such as is habitually accorded departing Chiefs of Mission and, in view of the none too cordial relations always existing betweem this country and Bulgaria, the press has turned considerable attention to the texts of the toasts that were exchanged on that occasion. Although, actually, the speeches contained little more than the

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FEB 27 1940

essential

771.74/104 B

essential politenesses and a few phrases expressing hope and encouragement as regards the future of relations between the respective countries, some commentators go so far as to use them as a basis for referring to the "recently improved relations between Rumania and Bulgaria". The following are translations of the more significant portions of the two speeches:

MR. GAFENCU

.....In international life nothing seems more delicate than the relations between nations. Our century has conquered great distances. It has not yet fully succeeded in conquering the small ones. The Atlantic is crossed with a flash of wings----but years are wasted, alas, in order to throw a bridge across a river.

And in the meantime does not the most elementary wisdom teach us that the satisfaction of everyone, the security of a country and even general peace depend in the first place upon the relations of confidence and of mutual understanding which are maintained with the nearest neighbors? Do we not feel, in the stormy times through which we are passing, that we are faced with the same problems, instructed by the same teachings, and that opposite tendencies are today overshadowed by the ever greater importance of common interests? Certainly diplomacy alone is not able to solve all the problems which arise from such reflections. It must have the support of an active and beneficent sympathy from people to people.

I know by my own experience that such sentiments exist and ask only to be developed whenever Rumanians and Bulgarians attempt to come together and to understand each other. I know also the possibilities of work, of exchange and of organization that our very long frontier offer to our two hard-working and pacific peoples----because common interests call for common tasks. That is why I have confidence in the future of our relations.

I would be happy, Mr. Minister, if following your sojourn among us, during which you have expended so many patient, loyal and

intelligent

intelligent efforts, to which I desire to render friendly homage, you were to carry with you the same conviction and the same confidence.

MR. KIROFF

During the entire duration of my mission in Rumania I have devoted my efforts to making a useful contribution to developing and strengthening the relations of good-neighborship and understanding between our two countries, equally attached to the cause of peace and of progress.

In this manner, I must emphasize, I have always had friendly and complete collaboration on the part of the Royal Rumanian Government. You, personally, Mr. Minister, and your eminent collaborators, have always aided me with much friendship and I am profoundly grateful to you for it.

I remain, then, convinced that, thanks to reciprocal good-will, the relations between our two peoples will continue to develop in a spirit of mutual confidence and understanding for the greatest good of our common interests and for peace in this part of Europe.

It is understood that Mr. Kiroff will leave Bucharest within the next few days.

Mr. Petrov Ciomacov, formerly Bulgarian Minister to Stockholm, has been accredited to Bucharest and is expected to arrive shortly after Mr. Kiroff's departure.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

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t.
CKH:EMS.

Copy to Sofia.

...ers l'entente parfaite roumano-bulgare

LA PRESSE DE SOFIA SALUE LE DISCOURS DE M. GR. GAFENCO

LM 1-13-40

SOFIA, 11. — (Rador). — Tous les journaux reproduisent les discours prononcés à l'occasion du banquet de départ que M. Grégoire Gafenco, ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Roumanie a donné en l'honneur de M. Sava Kiroff, ministre de Bulgarie à Bucarest, jusqu'à ce jour.

Le journal „Vecer" donne au compte rendu des discours ce titre qui tient toute la largeur de la page: „Confiance et compréhension entre la Bulgarie et la Roumanie; bonne volonté réciproque à l'avantage des deux peuples et pour la paix dans cette région de l'Europe".

Le journal semi-officieux du gouvernement, „Vecera I Dnes" sous le titre „Entre la Bulgarie et la Roumanie" publie l'article éditorial suivant:

„Au banquet donné par le ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Roumanie, M. Grégoire Gafenco, en l'honneur de M. Sava Kiroff, hier encore ministre de Bulgarie à Bucarest, le chef de la politique étrangère roumaine a prononcé un discours qui est fait pour attirer notre attention et par la sincérité dont il est imprégné et par les idées qui y sont exprimées et qui ont été dictées par un désir sincère de confiance et compréhension entre la Bulgarie et la Roumaie.

Entre autres, l'actif et clairvoyant ministre des Affaires Etrangères de notre voisine du Nord a dit que la sûreté d'un Etat ainsi que la paix générale, dépendent en premier lieu des relations de confiance et d'entente réciproque avec les Etats les plus proches.

C'est là sagesse de longue date, avec laquelle nous ne pouvons qu'être d'accord. Nous croyons que pour ce qui est de la Bulgarie, elle fait tout son possible, et à ce sujet elle a donné des preuves répétées de son désir de réaliser une entente parfaite et confiante entre les deux Etats voisins. Et si les mêmes bonnes intentions, existent du côté roumain, nous pouvons être aussitôt sûr d'arriver sans grande difficulté, à ce qui est le vouloir des deux Etats, au bon voisinage, surtout en ces temps troubles que nous vivons.

Les conditions heureuses susceptibles d'écarter les aspirations contradictoire et donnant la priorité aux intérêts communs seront alors créées.

L'espoir exprimé par le sage M. Gafenco en l'avenir des relations bulgaro roumaines est notre espoir aussi. Ces relations entreront dans une nouvelle phase d'entente et de cofiance parfaites, pour le bien des peuples voisins et pour le développement heureux de la paix générale dans cette région de l'Europe".

—XOX—

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT With reference to possibility of an eastern front, the Prime Minister said that Turkish assurances provide that as long as Bulgaria remains neutral, Turkey will respect neutrality and will prohibit passage through eastern Thrace of foreign troops.

771.74/LOZ

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel.#11 6 p m
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Feb. 13 1940 From / To Bulgaria (Millard)

File No. 770.00/764

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

bb

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT Relations between Bulgaria and Rumania. Bulgaria would postpone her demand for the Dobrudja because there is nothing she can do about it now. The use of force would even if successful merely result in later efforts of other powers to recapture it in the same manner.

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771.74/108

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel.#55, 6 p.m.
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Feb.17, 1940 From / To Yugoslavia (Lane)

File No. 874.00/614

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, March 8, 1940.

No. 437

Subject: Incidents on the Rumanian and Turkish frontiers.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the following incidents on the Rumanian and Turkish frontiers were announced today in Sofia.

On the night of March 1-2 during a snowstorm a Bulgarian partol crossed by mistake into Rumanian territory and were fired upon by a Rumanian patrol and a Bulgarian non-commissioned officer was mortally wounded. The incident was at once settled by the Bulgarian and

Rumanian....

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Rumanian frontier authorities. On March 6 a Bulgarian airplane lost its bearings in the fog and made a forced landing on Turkish territory. The Turkish authorities released the two aviators and they were allowed to return immediately to Bulgaria with their airplane.

While many such incidents have occurred in the past on all of Bulgaria's frontiers, it is noteworthy that in the last two instances described above both Rumania and Turkey have shown their goodwill in settling the incidents without delay. This change for the better has been commented on with gratification in Sofia, where the press stresses the friendly attitude shown by the two neighboring countries. The newspapers state that the sincere desire for peace and neutrality which animates the Balkan countries should dispel the intrigues which are creating distrust among them; and that the most important conclusion to be drawn from the settlement of these incidents is that Bulgaria's neighbors have shown that she can be trusted.

Respectfully yours,

Hugh Millard

Hugh Millard
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

HM/RG

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

April 10, 1940.

Summary of Despatch no. 1260, from Legation at Bucharest, dated February 27, 1940.

Subject: Rumanian-Bulgarian Relations.

The Legation in Bucharest confirms the general impression that an improvement has taken place in Rumanian-Bulgarian relations. It is not felt, however, that all is now well between the two countries for Rumania, despite conciliatory words, maintains the thesis of "existing frontiers" and Bulgaria stands firm in its claims upon the Dobrudja "Quadrilateral".

There have been minor instances, however, that relations are better. These instances do not amount to much when added up, but taken in conjunction with Balkan mentality they must be considered as a portent. As the Legation says they portray a circumstance of common interests from which may flow a new understanding and possibly an eventual adjustment of differences.

Evidence of this trend started with the much publicized Balkan bloc, a rather vague project, generally under the patronage of Italy which aimed to bring Bulgaria into a common fold with the States of the Balkan

Entente.

Entente. Kiosseivanoff's public utterances as well as favorable reports of the visits in Sofia of high ranking Turkish Foreign Office officials served to strengthen the thought that Bulgaria might now find common interest with Rumania.

Furthermore the word "conciliation" has been considerably used in Rumania of late and there has been a corresponding lack of emphasis on "existing frontiers".

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1260. Bucharest, February 27, 1940.

Subject: Recent Rumanian-Bulgarian Relations.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
APR 3 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF TRADE AGREEMENTS
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MAY 1 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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RECEIVED
APR 2 1940
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
APR 22 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE OF THE ADVISER ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
APR 29 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS
APR 24 1940
Department of State

Rating	Distribution Instructions
Grade for	MID

APR 26 1940

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Reference to the Legation's reports on relations between Rumania and Bulgaria during the past few years will show that developments in the relations between the two countries have been negligible and even of a megative, rather than a positive, nature. It has been possible, indeed, to record talks looking to a modernized ferryboat service over the Danube, efforts to maintain trade relations between the two countries, and even an official visit to Bucharest of the Governor of the Bank of Bulgaria (despatch No. 609 of November 11, 1938). But sentiment and attitude experienced no

change

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change for the better. Rumanian official and unofficial spokesmen continued to indulge in frequent reiterations of the demand for maintenance of the status quo and preservation of existing frontiers, whereas Bulgaria has stood firm, unbelligerently but persistently, in its revisionist claims on the Dobrudja. The incident of May 9th last, when twenty odd Bulgarian comitadjis were killed by Rumanian gendarmes (despatch No. 893 of May 12, 1939), brought extreme embarrassment to Rumanian officialdom and fanned anew the fires of Bulgarian indignation, bringing for the moment to white heat the relations of a Bulgaria greatly impoverished and a Rumania greatly enriched by the World War.

I now have the honor to report a few indications which are to me suggestive of a new phase in Rumanian--Bulgarian relations, a turn which manifestly issues from the fresh perspectives of a war-torn Europe. These occurrences neither shatter the Rumanian stand nor greatly encourage the Bulgarian cause; they do, rather, portray a circumstance of common interests from which may flow a new understanding and possibly an eventual adjustment of differences.

Recent weeks have, in this regard, been fruitful, even though the worms of unsatisfied revisionism bore relentlessly against the harvest of a new understanding. There was first, of course, the much-publicized idea of a "Balkan bloc", a rather vague project attributed in some quarters to Italian and in others to Rumanian inspiration, but generally under the

patronage

patronage of Italy and always bringing Bulgaria into a common fold with Rumania and the other Balkan States. Then Mr. Kiroff, Bulgarian Minister to Rumania, was transferred to Ankara. At a farewell luncheon, he and Foreign Minister Gafencu exchanged courteous toasts. Curiously enough, these normal and near-careless politenesses, after Mr. Kiroff's four years of barren efforts to foster his country's interests here, seem to have been so timed as to mark a new urge to tentative rapprochement of understanding (naturally, not of agreement) between the two countries. Premier and Foreign Minister Kiosseivanoff's public utterances, as well as favorable reports of the visits in Sofia of Messrs. Saracioglu and Menemenjoglu, served to strengthen the thought that Bulgaria might at the present juncture find common interest with her Balkan neighbor.

In my report of the Bucharest view of the recent Belgrade Conference of the Balkan Entente (despatch No. 1225 of February 9th last), I noted especially the gestures toward Bulgaria, the frequent occurrence of the word "conciliation" and the lack of emphasis on "existing frontiers". In this capital there was subsequently a definite feeling that Bulgarian protestations of "peace and neutrality" were sincere----in this connection official knowledge of Turkish spade work with Bulgaria served to allay fears, (See my telegram No. 48 of February 27, 4 p.m.)----and that Rumania had, however intangibly, indicated the possibility of a post-war reconsideration of outstanding differences. One American newspaper correspondent mentioned to the

Bulgarian

Bulgarian Press Attaché here his understanding that a peace-time adjustment had been envisaged and received the reply, "But, certainly", accompanied by unmistakable indications of satisfaction. Another sidelight on this phase is furnished by the fact that Mr. Jules Maniu, former Premier and National Peasant leader, diehard, anti-regime, pro-Ally, democratic oppositionist agitator, has just recently incurred official intervention by circulating a propaganda letter deploring Foreign Minister Gafencu's betrayal of the Rumanian program for preservation of existing frontiers (separately reported).

The change of Government at Sofia the middle of this month naturally was attentively remarked in Bucharest, but all commentators found satisfaction in noting that no change of foreign policy seemed to be involved. The following observations appeared in the press of February 17th:

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> The declarations of the Bulgarian Prime Minister removes from the change of Government all external character, limiting it to the necessities of internal political order.

CURENTUL

> The manner in which the new Government was constituted, the presence in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mr. Popoff, former Bulgarian diplomat accredited to Bucharest, as well as the declarations that Bulgarian policy will not be modified, are of such a nature as to assure to the new Government a good reception in all Balkan countries.

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The portfolio of Foreign Affairs has been confided to Mr. Popoff, Bulgarian Minister at Belgrade, which indicates that Bulgarian foreign policy undergoes no new orientation.

LE MOMENT

The foreign policy of Bulgaria will follow the lines traced by Mr. Kiosseivanoff.

Mr. Mititza Constantinescu, Minister of Finance and Governor of the National Bank of Rumania, paid an official two-day visit to Sofia on February 22nd and 23rd last, receiving an apparently warm reception in Bulgaria and considerable space in the local press. This visit was fitting response to the visit to Bucharest in November, 1938, of Mr. Dobre Bojilov, then Governor of the National Bank of Bulgaria and now Minister of Finance, but a return of courtesies so long postponed can now only add flavor to the various indications I have just noted. Such monetary and financial developments as are involved will be separately reported, but I wish to note here that his visit coincides with the presence of a Rumanian economic delegation in Sofia, that King Carol bestowed decorations on Mr. Bojilov and his collaborators, that Mr. Constantinescu laid a wreath for the Bulgarian war dead and that announcement has been made of Rumanian participation in the Varna Fair.

Yesterday's LE MOMENT remarks:

After the Belgrade Conference of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente, on which occasion the representatives of the four countries envisaged an enlargement of this Entente through the adherence of other States desirous of seeing peace preserved

in

in the Peninsula, this visit fits very happily into the ensemble of the decisions taken at the said Conference.

I may mention finally that one local paper yesterday carried photographic reproductions of Bulgarian scenes, and in another I noted the biography of a Bulgarian poet. These are a ll new signs.

I do not wish to suggest that all is now well between Rumania and Bulgaria. The latter country seems to stand firm in pursuing deeply-felt claims on the Dobrudja "quadrilatère" by peaceful means, and Rumania, despite Gafencu's conciliatory words at Belgrade, maintains the thesis of "existing frontiers". But there is a hint of a tacit agreement to set aside the differences between the two countries during war-time stress and menaces and to seek adjustment with the coming of the new peace.

Respectfully yours,

Franklin Mott Gunther.

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CKH:ems

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT Bulgarian-Rumanian relations: reports in connection with new trend in-, that the new Bulgarian Minister journeyed from Giurgiu to Bucharest in a special railway car placed at his disposal by the Rumanian Government, a most unusual attention and that he was received by the King twelve days after his arrival in the capital.

771.74/1111

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See #1311
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated March 18, 1940 **From / To** Rumania (Gunther)

File No. 701.7471/4

M C C

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

771.74 LH

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1351. Bucharest, April 12, 1940.

Subject: Conversation with the New Bulgarian Minister; His Endeavors to Secure Rumanian Declaration Recognizing, in Principle, Bulgarian Claims on the Dobrudja.

Rating	Distribution Instructions
Grade for	M I D - in confidence

CONFIDENTIAL

MAY 24 1940

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MAY 15 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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1940 MAY 14 PM 2 22

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
MAY 21 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

771.74/112

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that I had today a conversation with the new Bulgarian Minister to Rumania, Mr. Stoian Petroff-Tchomokoff, who on the occasion of his ceremonial first call spoke at length regarding Rumanian-Bulgarian relations. He said that Bulgaria is distrustful of recent Rumanian intimations that in return for Bulgarian "forbearance" now Rumania will give consideration to Bulgarian claims in the post-war adjustment, since such an attitude might be taken as a means of sidestepping the issue at present and in the

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JUN 24 1940

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DIVISION OF COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS
Department of State

end nothing would be done. He said that it would be his aim to obtain some form of definite statement or declaration of Rumanian recognition, in principle, of Bulgarian claims to the Dobrudja, thus bringing into existence a tangible commitment that may be invoked as a basis for eventual Bulgarian demands for definite adjustment of the problem. He added that he had already asked Prime Minister Tatarescu for such a declaration. The new Minister seems to feel quite free----and so does his wife, who is English----to speak bitterly and extensively on this subject, perhaps more than will in the end inure to the greatest good for the Bulgarian cause.

Passing to other subjects, I mentioned the use of Varna as a transit port for Russian oil destined for Germany, to which he replied that, although this subject had never in any way come to his attention in Sofia, it had already been mentioned to him here in Bucharest. Neither had he heard of the recent German demands for the policing of the Danube (telegram No. 122 of April 12, 1 p.m.), but he became quite agitated when I mentioned it and expressed his fear that the Giurgiu incident (telegram No. 118 of April 10, 7 p.m.) might cause further trouble, particularly if the Germans were to use it as an excuse for additional pressure or if the British were to make further attempts of a similar character.

As stated in my telegram No. 124 of April 12, 4 p.m., Mr. Petroff vouchsafed to me the interesting information that Russia had twice offered a military "Convention" to

Bulgaria

Bulgaria, and that in both cases the offer had been refused. He added, however, that Bulgaria had seen no reason to refuse to engage in commercial negotiations with Russia, mentioning especially the recent air convention with Russia which was similar to Bulgaria's conventions with other countries. He informed me that the route would be Odessa-Burgat-Sofia, as to go via Varna would entail crossing too many mountains.

Respectfully yours,

Franklin Mott Gunther.

Received

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FMG/CKH:ems

COPY TO SOFIA.

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

113

SUBJECT Rioting by Bulgarians and Germans in front of German Legation this afternoon.

Reports- Speeches made exhorting "victorious" Germany to hand over the Dobrudja to her old ally Bulgaria.

771.74/113

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #63, 9 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated June 19, 1940 **From / To** Bulgaria (Earle)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4020

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

G-TT

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

714

SUBJECT Mass demonstrations of Bulgarian patriotic organizations in Sofia with slogans demanding the return of Dobrudja and a Bulgarian exit to the Aegean.

Reports-

mr

771.74/114

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #725, 1 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated June 21, 1940 **From / To** U.S.S.R. (Thurston)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4064

G-TT

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

115

NOTE

SUBJECT Reaction in Rumania to recent declaration to the press of Bulgarian Foreign Minister in regard to Bulgarian policy.

Reports favorable-

mr

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See #1402
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated May 16, 1940 **From** Rumania (Gunther)
To

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4125

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

771.74/115

G-TT

771.74

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

116

NOTE

SUBJECT Bulgaria's claims to the southern Dobrudja;

It is believed now that the Rumanian territorial subject had been opened by Russia ,- would be considered.

mr

771.74/116

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #71, 7 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated June 27, 1940 From / To Bulgaria (Earle)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4254

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

G-TT

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

-117

NOTE

SUBJECT Bulgarian demands for the return of Dobrudja;

With regard to reports of- Rumanian circles claim that the Italian Government has informed the Bulgarian Government that it must await the occurrence of peace before pressing its territorial claims.

wha

771.74/117

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #2211, 5 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated June 29, 1940 From/To Germany (Heath)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4303 Confidential Files

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

G-TT Confidential File

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

118

NOTE

SUBJECT Bulgarian claims on Rumania;

Bulgaria is more reasonable in its attitude, first, because of the comparatively small amount of territory and population involved and second, because of the Bulgarian belief that patience will serve it better than aggressive action.

mr

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #285, 8 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated June 30, 1940 **From / To** Yugoslavia (Lane)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4317

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

771.74/118

G-TT

771.74

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL FOR DEPARTMENT USE ONLY:

New Rumanian Ambassador believes that Bulgaria has no intention of pressing its territorial claims against his country.

771.74/119

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel.#114, noon
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated July 3, 1940 From / To Turkey (MacMurray)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4382 Confidential File

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

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Confidential File GMT

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

120

NOTE

SUBJECT With regard to the southern Dobrudja the Bulgarian Foreign Minister stated all the great powers recognized the justice of Bulgaria's claims thereto. As most of the Rumanian troops and colonists have been withdrawn it would be very easy for Bulgaria to annex the Dobrudja following an uprising of the Bulgarian people there.

771.74/120

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #84, 7 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated July 16, 1940 **From / To** Bulgaria (Earle)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4686

G-TT

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

121

NOTE

SUBJECT Rumanian troops and officials have suddenly reentered the southern Dobrudja treating the Bulgarian inhabitants there in a brutal manner.

mr

771.74/121

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #85, 1 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated July 17, 1940 **From** / **To** Bulgaria (Earle)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4709

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

G-TT

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

122

NOTE

SUBJECT Border incidents between Bulgarians and Rumanians at time of the Russian occupation of Bessarabia.

Rumanian Foreign Office has publicly admitted that there were certain-

mr

771.74 / 122

G-TT

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #398, 1 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated July 19, 1940 From / To Rumania (Gunther)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4759

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

123

NOTE

SUBJECT Romano-Bulgarian relations.

Rumania has agreed to the set-up of a Romano-Bulgarian Mixed Claims Commission to investigate the treatment of the Bulgar minority in southern Dobrudja.

771.74/123

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel.#401, 6pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated July 22, 1940. From / To Rumania (Gunther)

File No. 740.0011-European War, 1939/4796

G-TT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 1940
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
RDS

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EO
LNE

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (Br.)

FROM

Sofia

Dated July 26, 1940

Rec'd 7:51 p.m.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUL 27 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

91, July 26, 3 p.m.

British Minister confirms to me reports that Great Britain has informed Bulgaria she agrees in the justice of Bulgaria's claims to the southern Dobrudja, i.e., the boundaries of 1912 and hopes that Bulgaria will receive this territory at once.

This message was conveyed to the Bulgarian King two days before Bulgaria received Germany's invitation to the present conference at Salzburg.

England, Rendel added, would have acted sooner but for France's rigid opposition to any treaty revision in southeastern Europe.

Rendel informed the Foreign Minister the same day that Great Britain did not look with favor upon Bulgaria's outlet to the Aegean (See my 84, July 16, 6 p.m.)

EARLE

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FILED
AUG 2 1940

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

125

NOTE

SUBJECT Rumanian-Bulgarian relations.

Italian press warns that Rumania must expect to yield to legitimate Bulgarian and Hungarian aspirations as cease trying to be the "local big power".

771.74/ 125

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel.#755, 5pm.
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated July 26, 1940. From / To } Italy (Phillips)

File No. 740.0011-European War, 1939/4864

G-TT

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

126

NOTE

SUBJECT Rumanian Foreign Minister urged by Hitler and Mussolini to enter into direct negotiations with Bulgaria and Hungary with view to territorial rearrangements in the Dubroudja and Transylvania.

Reports-

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #5266, 3 pm
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated July 29, 1940 From / To Germany (Kirk)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4906 Confidential File

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

771.74/126

G-TTConfidential File

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

127

SUBJECT Bulgarian claim to southern Dobrudja;

Conference between the Bulgarian Foreign Minister and Hitler and Von Ribbentrop regarding the-

mr

771.74/127

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See ~~Tel. #96, 7 pm~~
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated ~~July 30, 1940~~ From / To Bulgaria (Earle)

File No. 740.0011 European War, 1939/4926

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

G-TT

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM

AS

GRAY

Sofia

Dated August 3, 1940

Rec'd 5:55 a.m.

Copies to MID & ONI AUG -5 1940

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 3 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

99, August 3, 8 p.m.

Cedare, Rumanian Minister in Belgrade, arrives today to arrange with Foreign Minister here negotiations between Bulgaria and Rumania.

EARLE

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U - LIAISON OFFICE
AUG - 5 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FILED
AUG 6 1940

771.74/128

G/HC

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RDS
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (Br.)

FROM

Belgrade

Dated August 7, 1940

Rec'd 11:50 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

Seen by M.I.D

771.74/129

349, August 7, 7 p.m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

The following is a resume of my conversations this morning with two high Foreign Office officials:

One. Bulgarian-Rumanian negotiations. Reports from the Yugoslav representatives at Sofia and Bucharest indicate that the atmosphere of the conversations between Popoff and Cadere, who were intimate colleagues in Belgrade, has been friendly. The main difficulty now appears to be with respect to the cession of Silistra and Balcic. The Yugoslav Government believes, however, that the subsequent conference which will consider technical questions will be able to solve the entire matter satisfactorily. Bulgaria is making no claim at this time to northern Dobrudja nor for access to the Aegean Sea.

771.74

AUG 9 - 1940

FP

Confidential File

Two. Hungarian-Rumanian relations. Yugoslavia's task was to act as intermediary between Hungary and Rumania with a view to initiating amicable negotiations. Conversations having been initiated the Yugoslav Government's task has been completed. The fear of the Hungarian Minister (as

reported

reported in my 339, July 31, noon) that war between Hungary and Rumania is inevitable was discounted by my informants. It was stated that Hungary is endeavoring to create apprehension regarding the possibility of war although fully aware that neither Germany, Italy nor Russia will permit Hungary to invade Rumania. One official said with emphasis that he has definite information that the Soviet Government would invade sub-Carpathian Ruthenia in the event of Hungarian aggression on Rumania.

Three. Hungarian-Yugoslav relations. It is not believed that Hungary has any present territorial aspirations at the expense of Yugoslavia. (This opinion has also been given to me by the Hungarian Minister.) If and when Hungary is able to obtain territorial satisfaction from Rumania an attempt may then be made to start negotiations with Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is prepared to discuss any question with Hungary but has arguments equally as good as those of Hungary.

760h64

Four. Yugoslav-Italian relations. On recounting remarks made to me privately during my recent trip to Italy regarding apprehensions that hostilities between Italy and Yugoslavia might break out one of my informants said that Yugoslavia is prepared to discuss any question with Italy regarding Italian claims in south Serbia but emphasized that the plains of Kossovo are the most sacred

760h65

part

part of Serbian territory and that if Italy should use force to obtain Yugoslav territory Yugoslavia would resist. My informant who is usually mild spoken expressed his feeling with such emphasis that I obtained the impression that Yugoslavia must have assurances of some outside support probably from Germany. He remarked significantly, "We are not afraid of Italy when Italy acts alone."

Copies to Bucharest, Budapest and Rome by mail.

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JT

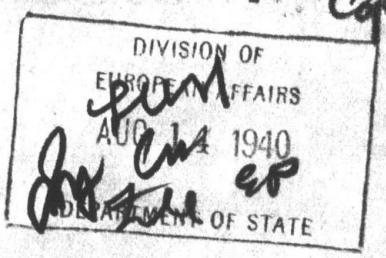
FROM GRAY

MOSCOW

Dated August 13, 1940

Rec'd 3:35 p.m.

Copies sent to MID ONI



Secretary of State,

Washington.

1012, August 13, noon

PRAVDA this morning in an unsigned article devoted to an historical review of the Bulgarian claims to southern Dobrudja states that the Bulgarian claims concerning the return of this area are just and concludes with the statement: "As is well known, the Soviet Union has always adopted and continues to adopt the position of supporting these demands of Bulgaria with regard to Rumania." It is reported that the Bulgarian Minister left Moscow on August 11 for Sofia to consult with his government. Repeated to Sofia.

THURSTON

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FILED
AUG 16 1940

GRR

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 15 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM

EG
This message must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (Br)

Sofia

Dated August 15, 1940

Rec'd 1:14 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

102, August 15, noon.

Foreign Minister informs me that Bulgaria has notified Rumania that she will accept territorial settlement with frontier of 1912 and on no other basis. He says Rumania has offered several compromises which Bulgaria has refused and that Bulgaria has and will remain adamant that she will send no delegates and enter no negotiations until this basic principle is accepted by Rumania. He is optimistic of an early agreement.

EARLE

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FILED
AUG 19 1940

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

HR
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated FROM to any one. (Br)

Bucharest

Dated August 16, 1940

Rec'd 11:44 p.m.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 17 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

454, August 16, 1 p.m.

It is officially announced that Rumanian (Hungarian? Bulgarian) discussions of differences (i.e. Hungarian revisionist claims) will be opened at Turnu-Severin today. The Hungarian delegation headed by Minister Plenipotentiary Andre Hory is arriving there by boat this morning and the Rumanian delegation headed by Valeriu Pop Minister Plenipotentiary and former cabinet member left Bucharest last night.

I understand that Rumanian-Bulgarian negotiations prematurely reported on the verge of completion and all but ready for signature at Craiova last week have not made substantial progress. No formal discussions have been inaugurated at Craiova and tentative talks appear to have run into difficulties reportedly over the towns of Silistra and Balcic. My impression is that the Rumanians may be withholding cession of these two towns until such a gesture would seem good strategy to offset effect of possible breakdown in Hungarian discussions.

GUNTHER

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AUG 20 1940
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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MacD
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

FROM SOFIA

Dated August 17, 1940

Rec'd 11:20 a.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AUG 19 1940 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

103, August 17, 11 a.m.

Early this morning an official communique was issued announcing the receipt of a statement of the Rumanian "point of view in regard to the negotiations between the two countries" and an invitation to an official conference on Monday August 19 at Craiova, Rumania.

The Foreign Office unofficially admits that the Rumanian statement accepts Bulgaria's basis for negotiations (see my telegram No. 102, August 15, noon) and that the invitation to the conference has been accepted.

EARLE

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RDS

GRAY

SOFIA

FROM

Dated August 18, 1940

Rec'd 9:42 p.m.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 19 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

105, August 18, 2 p.m.

My telegram No. 103, August 18, 11 a.m.

The Bulgarian delegation which leaves for Craiova tonight is officially announced as follows: Chairman, Pomenoff, formerly Minister at Rome; members: (one) the General in command of the garrison at Varna; (two) a former judge of the court of cessation; (three) the Secretary General of the Ministry of Interior; and (four) the Director of the Public Debt.

The delegation is being accompanied by banking, agricultural, railway and other experts.

EARLE

WWC

FILED
AUG 20 1940

771.74/134
GRR

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

135

NOTE

SUBJECT

Hungarian government's proposed settlement; conversation with Prime Minister Gigurtu concerning terms of,- which are unacceptable, and Rumanian counter-proposal to be delivered today.

771.74/135

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel.#459 5 p m
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Aug. 19 1940 **From** Rumania (Gunther)
To

G-TT

File No. 764.71/238

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EH
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FROM
AUG 27 1940
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Bucharest

Dated August 22, 1940

Rec'd 5:25 p.m., 23rd

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 24 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

466, August 22, 3 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday informed a colleague of mine that his government had decided to give up to the Bulgarian Government both Silistra and Balcic but added that there would probably be no public announcement for some weeks or until details were settled as to exchanges of population. Although he did not mention it I fancy that one of the difficult problems raised in this connection is that of the Turkish subjects in the southern Dobrudja who refuse to pass under Bulgarian rule. (See my telegram No. 420, July 29, 8 p.m.)

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FILED
AUG 28 1940

GRR

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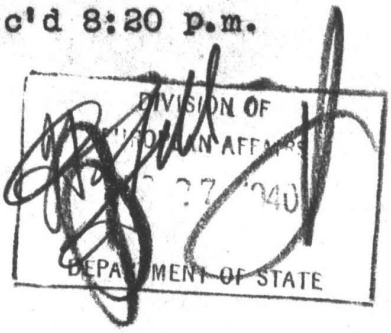
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JT
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (SC)

FROM BERLIN

Dated August 26, 1940

Rec'd 8:20 p.m.



Secretary of State,

Washington.

3745, August 26, 4 p.m.

My 3477, August 10, 3 p.m.

In Rumanian circles here optimism being expressed as to the settlement of the territorial adjustments between Bulgaria and Rumania which it is said have been agreed to in principle with only certain transfers of population to be determined. The negotiations over Transylvania, however, are regarded with grave concern, although it is felt that Rumania must eventually agree to some solution. The possibility of an ultimate Italo-German mediation is envisaged although it is stated that the German Government has professed entire detachment in connection with the negotiations between Hungary and Rumania which the Germans say should be carried to conclusion without outside interference. Added concern is felt in Rumanian circles over reports of continued movements of Soviet troops near the Rumanian frontier.

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FILED AUG 28 1940 GRR

Confidential File

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT

Negotiations and final territorial settlement between Rumania and Bulgaria expected soon.

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel#471 1 p.m.
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Aug. 24, 1940 From To/ Rumania (Gunther)

File No. 764.71/240

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 29 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AC
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

FROM

Bucharest

Dated August 28, 1940

Rec'd 3:08 a.m., 29th.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 30 1940
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Secretary of State

Washington

481, August 28, 2 p.m.

Second paragraph my 471, August 24, 1 p.m. and previous and conclusions in memorandum transmitted with my despatch No. 1519 of August 1st. Negotiations are continuing satisfactorily with the Bulgarian delegation. Details of finance and transfer of population are being worked out. With reference to the large Turkish colony (my 466, August 22, 3 p.m. and 420, July 28, 8 p.m.), a high official of the Foreign Office assures me that this is by way of being solved by large scale migration into Rumania proper and that in fact it began even before negotiations were opened.

I am reliably informed that a possible treaty of amity has been touched upon but that this topic has been in abeyance ever since Bulgaria's insistence upon the return of Balcic.

FILED
AUG 31 1940

GUNTHER

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

Seen by M.I.D. EU
DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 30 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AS
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

FROM

Sofia

Dated August 27, 1940

Rec'd 3:20 p.m., 29th

Secretary of State,

Washington.

110, August 27, 5 p.m.

Prime Minister informs me that Bulgaria and Rumania have entirely agreed in principle on cession of southern Dobrudja but that the problem of population exchange is difficult and vexatious. In the years Rumania has had this territory it has sent 80,000 Rumanians there. At best Filoff hopes Bulgaria can send back 60,000 of these Rumanian immigrants. He hopes for a final settlement in a week or two.

Answering my question regarding the seriousness of the Italian-Greek situation the Prime Minister believes Italy is creating incidents and filing them away as a basis for future action. As long as England exchanges blow for blow with Germany and Italy probably no action will be taken against Greece. Should however England definitely grow weaker Italy will invade Greece. In such an eventuality Filoff believes Bulgaria will be able to stay out of war.

FILED
SEP 6 1940

EARLE

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

AS
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

FROM Sofia

Dated September 6, 1940

Rec'd 9:08 p.m.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS SEP 1940 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

114, September 6, 5 p.m.

The Foreign Minister has just informed me he did not think General Antonescu would interrupt present negotiations between Rumania and Bulgaria and that an agreement might be signed in a few days. The points under discussion were territory, exchange of populations and financial questions.

Full agreement had been reached as regards territory the boundary line would be that of 1912.

Also complete agreement had been reached on the exchange of populations. Rumanians in southern Dobrudja are to move to Rumania and Bulgarians in northern Dobrudja are to move to Bulgaria; the number exchanged to be equal. This will be compulsory. The nationals of the two countries residing elsewhere in the other country will have the option of moving to their own country.

As to the financial terms the Rumanians had asked

for

771.74/141 FILED SEP 12 1940 FP

AS-2- No.114, September 6, 5 p.m., from Sofia.

for 15,000,000,000 lei but have now accepted the Bulgarian figure of 1,000,000,000 lei. The remaining unsettled point was the payment for goods requisitioned by the Rumanians in southern Dobrudja.

Mr. Popoff emphasized that unlike the case of Hungary, Bulgaria was reaching its agreement with Rumania entirely amicably. It was true that without the influence of the Axis Rumania would never have agreed to give up the territory; but the rest of the negotiations had been conducted directly between the two countries without pressure from the Axis.

Mr. Popoff stated he did not believe that Rumania might now lose her independence. The real danger he thought was internal and if General Antonescu could restore order Rumania would remain independent. He said he did not think that Germany which already has her hands full with several countries wished also to occupy Rumania. He thought that this was likewise true of all the Balkan states.

Regarding Russia's intentions concerning Rumania Mr. Popoff replied that the German guaranty would apply. Should Germany become weak that might be another matter but as things stood he did not feel Russia would dare to

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endanger

AS-3- No.114, September 6, 5 p.m., from Sofia.

endanger Rumania's independence.

Regarding the recent Greek-Italian tension he said that he believed the crisis had passed and that Italy would not invade Greece. He could not see it in Italy's interest to do so now. He concluded by saying that he thought it possible that Germany had cautioned Italy not to invade Greece but he had no definite information on this point.

EARLE

EMB

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 7 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM

AC
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (Br)

Sofia

Dated September 6, 1940

Rec'd 9:27 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

115, September 6, 7 p.m.

My 114, September 6. 1141

Semi-official source informs me agreement will be signed by delegations and announced from Craiova tomorrow September 7. On September 14 Foreign Ministers of Rumania and Bulgaria with envoys accredited to each country will sign and ratify agreement. September 15 and 16 municipal administrators, police and mayors, will enter the Dobrudja. September 20 Bulgarian Parliament will be called to approve ratification and army will begin occupation of the Dodrubja same day.

FILED
SEP 12 1940

EARLE

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771.74/142

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EG

FROM

GRAY

Moscow

Dated September 8, 1940

Rec'd 10:02 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

1132, September 8, 1 p.m.

The Moscow press this morning publishes but makes no comment upon a Tass despatch from Berlin quoting the German Information Bureau as reporting from Sofia yesterday that a Rumanian-Bulgarian agreement concerning the cession to Bulgaria of southern Dobrudja had been signed at Craiova.

Repeated to Sofia and Bucharest.

THURSTON

PEG

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS SEP 9 1940 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FILED SEP 11 1940

U - LIAISON OFFICE SEP 12 1940 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

771.74/143

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G/HC

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EH

FROM GRAY

Bucharest

Dated September 8, 1940

Rec'd 6:07 p.m.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 9 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

511, September 8, 2 p.m.

My 481, August 28, 2 p.m.

Rumanian and Bulgarian representatives signed an accord at Craiova yesterday bringing to a conclusion the discussions of the past three weeks and providing for (a) the cession of the Departments of Durosstor and Caliacra which comprise Southern Dobrudja or the quadrilateral (b) obligatory exchange of populations between Northern and Southern Dobrudja and an optional exchange between other parts of the two countries (c) agreement of both parties never to raise any further territorial pretentions (d) indemnification to Rumania in the amount of 1,000,000,000 lei for investments in the ceded territory and costs of effecting the exchange of population and (e) official occupation of the districts to be concluded between September 20 and October 1.

FILED
SEP 11 1940

GUNTHER

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771.74/144

GMR

[redacted] THE
UNITED [redacted] AMERICA

No. 1519 Bucharest, August 1, 1940.

Subject: Transmitting a Memorandum entitled "THE DOBRUJA: Stumbling-Block in Rumanian-Bulgarian Relations and Balkan Solidarity.

Commendatory instructions to Bucharest for Mr. Huston
RDC/EU/
10/10/40

Office of the Geographer
SEP 10 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

File Memorandum noted for Research Catalog.

Noted for fab file - SAS

Following enclosures filed in Gre (all duplicates):
Encl. 5 (map) (2 copies): 376 fb 1939 r
Encl. 6 (map) (2 copies): 376.6a 1934 d
Encl. 14 (1 copy)
Encl. 18 (1 copy)

Copy in Eu

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 9 1940
File Cor
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

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MR. DUNN
SEP 25 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTION UNIT
SEP 9 1940

TREATY DIVISION
File C.1.B.
DEC 7 1940
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

771.74/145

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

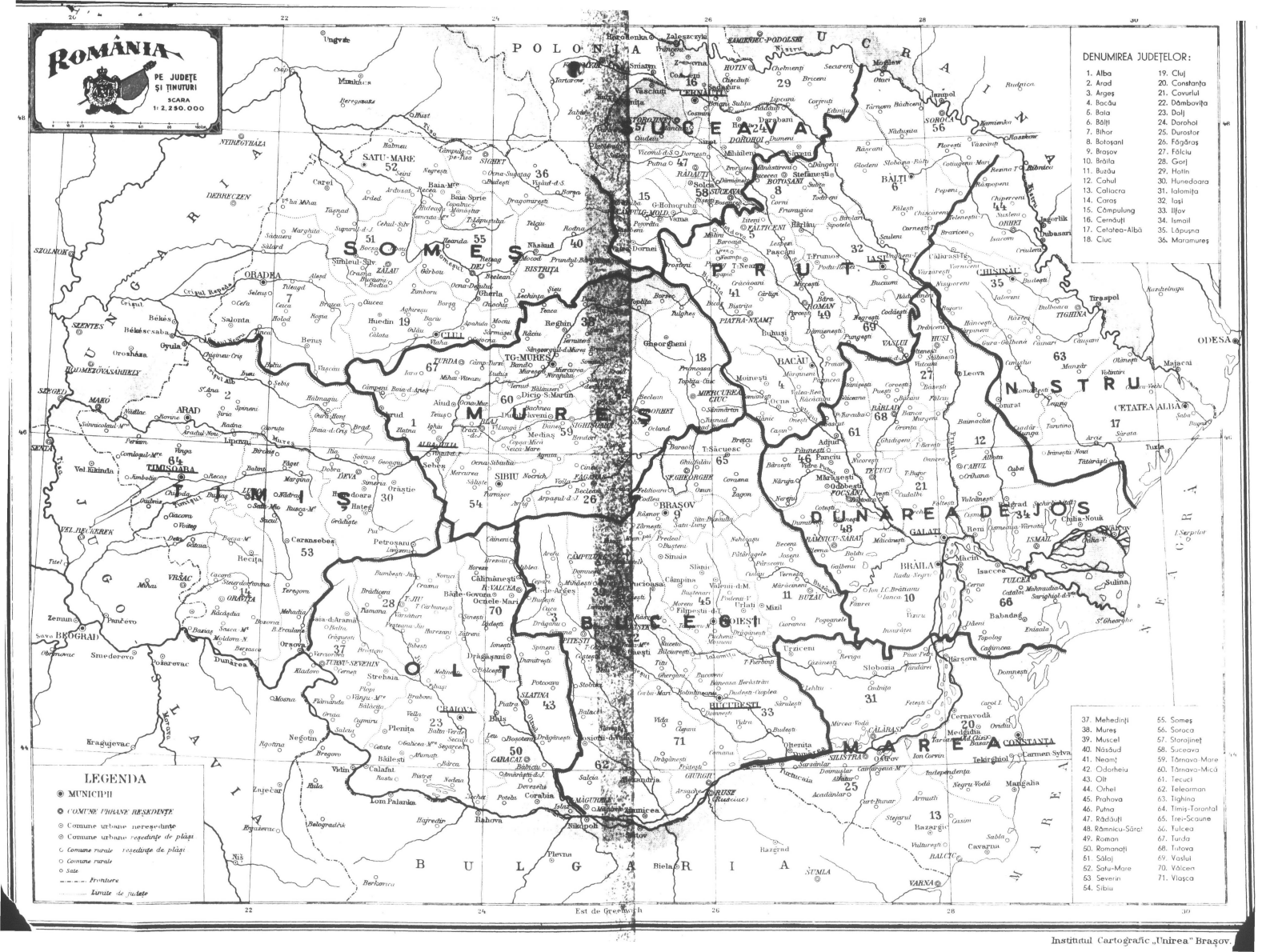
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a memorandum, with enclosures, entitled "THE DOBRUJA: Stumbling-Block in Rumanian-Bulgarian Relations and Balkan Solidarity" which has been prepared by Cloyce K. Huston, Second Secretary of this Legation. It is hoped that the Department will find it of interest in view of the concern over revisionist problems in Southeastern Europe at the present time. Mr. Huston has spent much time in

study

DIVISION OF COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS
Department of State



Institutul Cartografic „Unirea" Brașov.

Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch
No. 1519 of Aug 1, 1940
from the American Legation,
Bucharest, Rumania.

study and research on this question and I consider the result a very commendable piece of work.

Respectfully yours,

Franklin Mott Gunther

Franklin Mott Gunther

Enclosure:

1. Memorandum entitled "THE DOBRUJA: Stumbling-Block in Rumanian-Bulgarian Relations and Balkan Solidarity.

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cr.714

t. Copy to Sofia, and Budapest.

FPH/bfg

M E M O R A N D U M

ON

THE DOBRUJA: Stumbling-Block in Rumanian-Bulgarian Relations and Balkan Solidarity

American Legation,

Bucharest, Rumania. July, 1940.

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GENERAL STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The Dobruja figures in the history of today as an object of Bulgarian revisionist claims against Rumania. As an area in dispute, it represents not only a complete blockage to the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries immediately concerned, but has constituted a fatal stumbling-block to the development during the postwar period of an effective Balkan solidarity.* Whatever the outcome of the present war, it seems inevitable that the problem of the Dobruja, as between present Rumania and present Bulgaria, will receive fresh consideration. The task of this memorandum is to set down, and in some measure to evaluate, the opposed claims.

Lying mainly between the north-flowing portion of the Lower Danube and the Black Sea, the Dobruja must in the present consideration be divided into two parts: (1) Northern Dobruja, bestowed upon Rumania by Russia in 1878

in

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* The other major obstacle to Bulgarian collaboration in the consolidation of the Balkan Peninsula into a military bloc is, of course, found in that country's unsatisfied demands for a suitable outlet on the Aegean.

in return for the three southern districts of Bessarabia which had been given to Rumania in 1856 at the end of the Crimean War; and (2) Southern Dobruja, substantially lesser in area, acquired by Rumania through the provisions of the Treaty of Bucharest of July 28, 1913, at the conclusion of the second Balkan War. This conception of the two Dobruja areas is important since Bulgaria, while never admitting the legitimacy or justice of Rumanian acquisition of the northern portion, concentrates present revisionist claims almost entirely on the southern part, popularly spoken of as the "Quadrilatère" because of its near-quadrilateral form.

Bulgaria now takes the attitude of bowing ("elle s'incline") to the incorporation of Northern Dobruja within Rumania's frontiers, recognizing particularly the importance to this country of the port of Constanza, but there is no disposition to abandon the claims to Southern Dobruja which embittered Bulgarians of all classes have espoused with determined persistence ever since the Rumanian occupation in 1913. Official Sofia professes to have no intention of employing any other than peaceful means in achieving a settlement of the problem, but makes it clear that relations between the two countries can not be expected to improve unless and until a solution is found.

Bulgaria is dogged and unrelenting in demanding the return of the Southern Dobruja, impartial students and observers find a substantial balance of justice in favor of

of the Bulgarian cause, and indications are not lacking that Rumania is coming to realize more and more the desirability of an adjustment of this dispute in the interests of Rumanian-Bulgarian relations and of Balkan solidarity.

The "Greater Rumania" that emerged from the World War was even itself surprised to find that it held, not only the 1913 frontier with Bulgaria, but in addition all of Bessarabia and a huge sector of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. This new Rumania, however, has been surrounded by unsatisfied and clamorous neighbors, the Russians, the Bulgarians and the Hungarians. Within recent weeks Russia has seized Bessarabia in toto, not to mention Northern Bucovina, and the hungry Hungarians, who could only move with power support and have so far been held in check by the persuasive counsel of the Rome-Berlin Axis, believe the time for their revenge is near. Bulgaria, professing a policy of "peaceful means", bides its time, but deep in the Rumanian heart lies recognition of the fact that an adjustment must come.

THE DOBRUJA

Location

The Dobruja* is the name given to the area lying between the lower reaches of the Danube and the Black Sea, the western and northern boundaries being formed by the Danube, the eastern by the Black Sea and the southern by an artificial line established by the Treaty of Bucharest of July 28, 1913, running more or less directly from a point just a few miles upstream from the cities of Oltenița (left bank) and Toutrakan (right bank) to a small village called Ekréné on the Black Sea.

Since 1878 two parts of the Dobruja, i.e., the northern part and the southern part, have had separate histories and so have become known as Northern Dobruja and Southern Dobruja.** The boundary between the two, established by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, runs from a point a little

over

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* Variously spelled Dobroudja, Dobrodja, Dobrogea, Dobrudja, and Dobruja, the latter being adopted in this Memorandum. Proper designation of the area requires the use of the article: "The Dobruja". The name is derived from that of a General Dobrotich, supporter of the head of a local state in the 14th Century and subsequently absolute ruler of the western coast of the Black Sea.

** Also called New Dobruja, as well as the "Quadrilatère"; sometimes also Lower Dobruja, but this can be confusing since in the flow-of-the-river sense it is "Upper".

over a mile east of the city of Silistra to a point on the Black Sea near a small village (Ilanlik) a few miles south of Mangalia. It is to be remembered that the area in active dispute between Rumania and Bulgaria, Southern Dobruja or the Quadrilatère, is the one-third part of the Dobrujan territory lying to the south of this line.*

Geography

The Dobruja in its present geographic constitution, that is, excluding such areas now included within Bulgaria and lying between Ruschuk and Varna as are sometimes mentioned as belonging to the Dobrujan unit**, comprises four departments or districts: Tulcea, Constanţa, Durostor, and Caliacra. The former two constitute two-thirds of the total Dobrujan area and make up what is generally referred to as Northern Dobruja, while the two latter form the remaining third and are known as Southern Dobruja or the Quadrilatère. The total area of the Dobruja is roughly 9,000 square miles, or almost the size of Vermont, while Southern Dobruja, with 3,000 square miles, is considerably smaller than Connecticut. Northern Dobruja, referred to by the Encyclopedia Britannica as a "land of mountains, fens and steppes", was accorded to Rumania by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 and is not, at least at present, an

object

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* Actually the Dobrujan area is often spoken of as including also that part of present Bulgaria lying immediately south of the border line, i.e., the general area lying between Ruschuk on the Danube and Varna on the Black Sea.

** See, for example, the map facing page 32 of the enclosed volume entitled "Une Restitution Historique"; also page 8 of "La Dobroudja".

object of the main attack of Bulgarian revisionism; it is the Quadrilatère, the departments of Durostor and Caliacra, which Bulgaria immediately claims and which forms the stumbling block in the relations of the two countries.

Tulcea, the northernmost of the four Dobrujan departments, embraces the Delta formed by the three main Mouths of the Danube and the neighboring lakes and marshes which give the region a greater water than land area, but to the south there is a low range of worn and oak-covered mountains. The rainfall is slight, but there are a few small rivers, often dry, leading into salty or sweet lagoons along the Black Sea Coast.

The central district of the Dobruja (Constanţa) is of special importance to Rumania since it provides the country's land communications to Constanţa port and the Black Sea. A flat and low plateau, cut by sharp valleys leading to both the Danube and the Black Sea, it is of modest fertility and a scarcity of water, found only at deep levels or in the sweet lagoons of the littoral, places the villages far apart. Geographically poor and uninteresting, it is of vital concern to Rumania as a road to the sea.

The two districts of the disputed Southern Dobruja, Durostor and Caliacra, extend the plateau to a final height of a thousand feet before dropping abruptly to the Silver Coast* of the Black Sea. In the Durostor quarter

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* The coast in the Balcic region, so called because of the calcareous formations which in the sun throw a silver sheen over the sea.

the plateau is cut by numerous sharp, deep valleys, and the slight rainfall is largely wasted through the non-retentive calcareous beds. Although the climate is severe, crops are uncertain and villages are far apart, sizable crops can be harvested in a good season. Over the Caliacra area fairly fertile and extended flatlands prevail, where a traveler sees every sign of fairly fruitful cultivation. One of the most characteristic features is derived from the numerous "tumuli", or funeral mounds (or observation and signalling elevations) of prehistoric and Greco-Roman times, which dot the landscape everywhere. Here, too, in this southernmost and somewhat Riviera-like part of the Dobruja are some forests and succeeding ridges which can be argued as constituting a natural border and defense line.

The Dobruja holds interest, however, not because of its geographic character but rather as a result of its geographic position --- the line of march of invading barbarians in ancient and medieval times, a precarious line of defense for the peoples of the south, Russia's path to Constantinople and the open Mediterranean, Rumania's access to the Black Sea, a feasible though disputed ground for Bulgarian revisionism, a possible link between Slavic Russia and Slavic Bulgaria, an essential factor in the German Drang nach Osten, and a traditionally bloody cross-roads between the West and the East, the North and the South. It is a highway over which international politics in this part of the world invariably travels.

Resources

Resources

International significance does not focus on the Dobruja because of its natural resources, which are slight. Fairly substantial quantities of grain are produced, it is true, and the region means relatively more economically to Bulgaria than to Rumania, but it is not a coveted land of oil or coal or iron or any other major item of wealth normally logged in the journal of political strife. Such resources are, so far as now known, meagre, and need be noted only briefly.

The Dobruja as a whole is predominantly agricultural. Of the total area of 5,745,714 acres, only 3,077,395 acres are arable; in the Quadrilatère, i.e., Southern Dobruja, 1,294,900 acres out of a total of 1,908,075 are arable. Eighty per cent of the total arable extent is given over to cereal grains, the balance being taken up by food plants (4.3%), industrial plants (4.3%), artificial fodder growths (2.8%) and uncultivated land (8.6%).

Cereal grains (corn, wheat, rye, barley and oats, in the order named) constitute the greatest single source of wealth of the Dobruja, and more than half of the total production is harvested in the southern third of the province, i.e., the Quadrilatère. In 1938, for example, Southern Dobruja produced 388,000 metric tons out of a total of 767,000. Of the food plants, mainly beans, Southern Dobruja accounted for 85% of the total in 1938, or 7,666 metric tons out of 8,974. In the raising of livestock, however, Northern Dobruja is of first importance, herding having always, along with fishing,

constituted

constituted a principal occupation and source of income for that region. The following figures on livestock are taken from a 1935 census:

	Northern Dobruja	Southern Dobruja	Total
Sheep	603,320	479,680	1,083,000
Hogs	77,052	42,948	120,000
Cattle	117,033	63,967	181,000
Horses	122,000	81,000	203,000

From an industrial point of view the Dobruja is not important, although there are numerous flour mills, vegetable oil factories, and tanneries, as well as a few small plants for the manufacture of agricultural implements, cement, leather goods, cloth and the like. Virtually all of the industrial activity of the province is included in the central, or Constanţa, district and centered mainly in the seaport of Constanţa and the Danubian port of Cerna-Voda. In the Quadrilatère there are only a few flour mills and vegetable oil factories operated in close connection with the agricultural production of this area.

Some of the minor elements of wealth in the Dobruja may be listed by districts as follows:

Tulcea: Large expanses of straw growths, and fairly substantial deposits of lime, quartz, granite, stone, copper and pyrite.

Constanţa: Light oak forests, straw growths, chalk, kaolin, cement and lime, and certain mud and sulphurous springs.

Durostor: Light forests of oak, maple, linden, white beech and ash; negligible minerals.

Caliacra: Some oak and semi-tropical growths, as well as figs, almonds and grapes.

Means of communication in the Dobruja comprise some 4,430 miles of roads of all kinds and 220 miles of railways, of which the Quadrilatère possesses only 1,370 miles and 45 miles respectively.

Using general terms, then, it may be said that the economic life of the Dobruja is sustained largely by the sale of agricultural products, which in the Quadrilatère is almost the sole source of revenue, by fishing and the raising of livestock in the two northern districts, the activity of the port of Constanţa, minor industries and quarrying in the central Constanţa district, and a small chain of seaside pleasure and health resorts along the coast of the Black Sea.

Populations

In the course of a hasty survey of the populations of the Dobruja a Rumanian writer* remarks:

> "On its infinitely varied soil, where the most diverse countrysides and climates meet as nowhere else, there lives a population no less diverse, an amalgam of races and of nationalities which reviews, as in a mosaic, all the history of this province. There are found Turks and Tartars, living tranquilly alongside the Rumanians. One meets Russians, Ukrainians and Lipovans, mixed with Gagauţi or Bulgarians. One will meet even Germans, or Italians, or French, neighboring Greeks, Jews or Armenians. A living ethnological museum, where the most diverse races and religions meet in the most picturesque mélange."

But the three major populations of the Dobruja are the Rumanians, Bulgarians and the Turks, and for the purposes of this Memorandum attention may be narrowed

to

* Ponticus on page 36 of "La Dobroudja: Coup d'Oeil sur son Histoire et son Caractere Ethnique", a copy of which is enclosed herewith.

to the former two as the more numerous and as representing the two parties in dispute over the Dobrujan territory.

Comprehensive or reliable statistics on the populations of the Dobruja in 1878, when the Treaty of Berlin attributed Northern Dobruja to Rumania, are not available, but the following condensation of a table prepared in 1850* and covering the entire province may be of interest.

Districts	Turks	Tartars	Rumanians	Bulgarians	Others	Total
Tulcea	105	.....	1290	200	1097	2692
Isaccea	183	....	363	...	240	786
Macin	501	15	591	92	165	1364
Harsova	165	688	496	...	55	1404
Babadog	557	1075	674	871	751	3928
Constanța	352	422	242	26	26	1068
Mangalia	405	5	...	5	...	415
Balcic	620	...	...	482	2	1104
Bazargic	1912	...	...	538	283	2733
TOTAL:	4800	2225	3656	2214	2619	12764

Of far greater importance, however, is the distribution of populations in 1913, when Rumania acquired the Southern Dobruja under the terms of the Treaty of Bucharest. Rumanian figures on Northern Dobruja in 1913 are as follows:

Departments

* By Ionescu de la Brad; see page 56 of "La Dobrudja", by Ponticus.

	Departments		
Nationality	Tulcea	Constanţa	Total
Rumanians	87,339	129,086	216,425
Bulgarians	26,772	24,377	51,149
Russians	33,510	2,349	35,859
Tartars	1,141	20,209	21,350
Turks	5,159	14,933	20,092
Others	16,938	18,617	35,555
	170,859	209,571	380,430

The latest statistics on the populations of the Southern Dobruja, prior to its annexation to Rumania in 1913, derive from the Bulgarian census of 1910, as follows:

Nationality	Number	Percentage
Bulgarians	134,355	47.6
Turks	106,568	37.8
Gypsies	12,192	4.3
Tartars	11,718	4.2
Rumanians	6,348	2.3
Gagauti	4,912	1.7
Armenians	1,784	0.6
Jews	720	0.3
Greeks	628	0.2
Others	2,752	1.0
	282,007	100%

According to Bulgarian sources the Bulgarian population accounted for just over 50% of the total by 1913, or 54% including the Turkish-speaking Bulgarians (Gagauţi) and so constituted an absolute majority. On the basis of

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the two foregoing tables, then, it may be observed that at the time of the Treaty of Bucharest the Rumanians had in Northern Dobruja not only an overwhelming relative majority over the Bulgarians but an absolute majority as well, whereas in Southern Dobruja the tables are reversed in favor of the Bulgarians.

The only official figures available regarding the present distribution of populations in the Dobruja must be taken from the Rumanian census of 1930. They are now ten years old, but, making allowance for an extensive emigration of Turkish residents and of a few Bulgarians, they will provide the necessary indications. The figures for the four departments of the province are as follows:*

Ethnical Origin**	Tulcea	Constanta	Durostor	Caliacra	Total
Rumanians	115,276	167,568	40,088	37,640	360,572
Bulgarians	19,510	22,560	72,412	70,797	185,279
Turks	4,634	17,114	90,595	38,430	150,773
Tartars	372	15,174	2,085	4,461	22,092
Germans	2,418	9,605	58	500	12,581
Greeks	3,127	4,616	253	1,027	9,023
Russians	22,378	3,832	216	1,000	27,426
Others	16,323	12,624	5,726	13,056	47,729
Totals	184,038	253,093	211,433	166,911	815,475
					Official

* Adapted from Table 8 on page 462 of the Rumanian Academy's comprehensive volume "La Dobroudja", a copy of which is enclosed herewith. It contains an extensive analysis of the populations of the Dobruja by Dr. Sabin Manuila.

** By religion, 72.3% were Orthodox and 21.1% Mohamedan.

Official sources indicate that the total population of the Dobruja had increased to 906,588 in 1937, but no statistical breakdown of that figure by nationalities is available.*

Since Rumanian preponderance in Northern Dobruja is unquestioned and since Bulgarian revisionist claims envisage only the Quadrilatère, it is germane to the present examination to focus attention on the relative weights of the Rumanian and Bulgarian populations of the two districts comprising the disputed Southern Dobruja. As culled from the foregoing general table the pertinent figures are as follows:

	Departments			
Ethnical Origin	Durostor	Caliacra	Total	Proportion
Bulgarians	72,412	70,797	143,209	37.85 %
Rumanians	40,088	37,640	77,728	20.54 %
Others	98,933	58,474	157,407	41.61 %
	211,433	166,911	378,344	100.00 %

This reduced table, issue of the more complicated tables into which the Rumanian statistics are commonly thrown, would seem to picture clearly the essential elements in the ethnological phase of the problem of Southern Dobruja. It establishes a clear preponderance of the Bulgarians over the Rumanians.

* TIMPUL of July 17, 1940, states that on January 1, 1940, the entire Dobruja had a population of 455,673 Rumanians, 207,688 Bulgarians, and 260, 469 others.

History

A straightforward and unbiased recital of the Dobrujan history is difficult of discovery. The bulk of the material available is found in propaganda literature emanating from Rumanian and Bulgarian polemists and so is subject to the charge of the propagandist's sins of omission and distortion, the Rumanians finding their case best supported by ancient history and the Bulgarians by the records of relatively modern times. It will suffice here to note the general outline of established facts.

Ancient

Broadly speaking, the Dobruja, called Scythia Minor by the ancients, has ever served as a battlefield or as a highway for the passage of armies in the incessant struggle between invading barbarians of the north and the defending countries of the south. Wave after wave of Cimmerians, Scythians, Bartarnae, Sarmatians, Goths, Tartars, Carpi, Avars, Pechenegs, Curmans, Bulgarians and others had to be fought off by the Greeks, the Romans and the Byzantines and each new effort meant a new devastation of the Dobruja.

While the Rumanians claim to be able to prove by prehistoric research that the Getae, or Daci (Dacians, ancestors of the Rumanians), were the original inhabitants of the Dobruja and can be verified at least as far back as the Neolithic period, the first definite historical mention of the region is found in the account by Herodotus of the famous

famous expedition of Darius, the Persian, who in 512 B.C. led 700,000 men against the Scythians and on the way was forced to fight the Getae, "the most valiant and truest of the Thracians". The Persians only stayed a few short decades and then came the Odrysians, who remained almost a century. Then Philip II, the Macedonian, made a victorious drive over the Pontus Sinister* to the banks of the Danube in 345 B.C., to be followed by Alexander the Great in 355 B.C. and later Macedonian Kings preceding the invasion of the Celts (280 B.C.).

As early as the seventh century B.C. the Greeks had begun establishing themselves in towns, settlements and trading posts along the Dobruja coast (Istros, Ternis, Bizone, Dionysopolis, etc.), which braved the succeeding stormy centuries and maintained a thriving commerce which persisted even later under the Romans. These latter first appeared in the Dobruja under Lucullus in 72-71 B.C., but their occupation was often challenged by the Getae (or Daci) from the northern side of the Danube, particularly during the hardy reign of King Burebista, until definitive Roman rule was established in 27 B.C. Even during the first century A.D., when the Romans were colonizing both sides of the Danube and gradually extending their power, the Dacians under their warrior King Decebalus continued resistance against the Roman general until finally overcome by the Emperor Trajan's armies in 106 A.D. Much of the

history

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* Pont Gauche or Left Pontus, referring to the coastal region of the Dobruja, so-called because for mariners entering the Black Sea from the Bosphorus it lay on the left.

history of this robust period is preserved today in the bas-reliefs of the Trajan Column at Rome, as well as in fragments from the Trajan Trophy (Tropaeum Trajani) at Adamclissi in the Dobruja.

The "Roman Peace" brought to Scythia Minor, for the first time in many centuries, a period of security and prosperity under the succeeding reigns of the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antonius Pius.* But it could not last always, and the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180) witnessed a great migration southward from Scandinavia of the Goths, whose numbers were swelled by Costobocs, Carpi, Quadi and other northern tribes. In the warfare that followed in Dacia, the forerunner of present Rumania, during the reigns of the Severuses, Aurelian and Maximinus, the country was devastated, the towns were sacked, typhus and the plague broke out, and the Roman generals finally had to withdraw the last of their armies across the Danube and make the river's right bank their northern line of defense against the swarming barbarians.

Thus toward the end of the third century the Danube became a frontier and the Dobruja was separated from Dacia. As the Roman power declined, the Dobruja was forsaken and even for a time fell under the sway of the Goths, but the Roman civilisation, though it never really recovered, subsequently revived somewhat under Diocletian and reestablished a solid frontier along the Danube with the Dobruja a separate province called Scythia. Again the Goths

came

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* For a comprehensive description of the life, administration, arts, religions, etc., of this period see pages 156-243 of the Rumanian Academy's volume "La Dobruja", a copy of which is enclosed with this memorandum.

came flooding down, however, this time under pressure of the Huns, and defeated the imperial armies at Adrianople (378), whereupon the Dobruja once more lay prey to the northerners. In the fifth century Attila and his Huns overran the country. Again a semblance of order was restored (by the Emperor Theodosius the First) and considerable efforts were bent to reconstruction and the building of fortresses and monuments, probably including the misnamed Trajan Wall*, during his reign and that of Justinian, but these efforts represented the last struggles of the Empire in the Danubian area. In 587 the Dobruja was devastated by a great tide of Avars that swept the Roman armies before them until the Emperor Maurice was assassinated and the Byzantine capital, Constantinople, was finally barely saved by the Emperor Heraclitus. Thus ended the Roman influence in Scythia, and so ends the ancient history of the Dobruja.

Medieval

The invasion of the Bulgars came in the middle of the seventh century, and during the three centuries of the First Bulgarian Empire few records were left regarding the Dobruja. Rumanian sources say that the Bulgarians used the Dobruja as a road to the south but did not settle there, that they adopted Christianity and were largely absorbed by the more numerous Slavs who had previously come down with the Avars. They call this period a gap in

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* A triple line of fortifications running across the Dobruja from the Danube to the Black Sea; not built in Trajan's time but probably so called because of the association of his name with the great Roman victories. For a full description and study of Trajan's Wall see pages 359 to 376 of "La Dobruja", enclosed herewith.

in Dobrujan history. In 972 Byzantium found new strength to repulse an attack by the Russians and reestablished its power along the Danube for two more centuries, or up to the formation of the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1186. Then the thirteenth century brought in quick succession the invasion of the Tartars (1241), the recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantines (1261) and the reestablishment of control on the western coast of the Black Sea, including the Dobruja,* and a thrust by the Bulgarians of the Second Empire toward the Mouths of the Danube, where they were able to wield authority for two short decades (about 1300). But it may be said that in the main Byzantine influence was strong and ever present in the Dobruja from the tenth to the fourteenth century.

It was in 1387 that the Wallachian** Prince Mircea crossed the Danube and established control over the Dobrujan area, thus rejoining for a time the areas of old Dacia and Scythia Minor*** which had been separated upon the withdrawal of the Roman legions to the south bank of the Danube some eleven centuries before. Finally, however, the march of the surging Ottoman Turks reached the right banks of the Danube, where in 1416 they established

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* It was about this time that some 10,000 families of Seldjoucides Turks, converted to Christianity and now known as Gagautzi (Gagaouses), were settled along the Silver Coast.

** Wallachia was one of the two pricipalities --- the other was Moldavia --- which were created in the fourteenth century and constitute the basis of present Rumania.

*** The Rumanians make much of this extension of Wallachian, and, so, Rumanian, power across the Danube in their arguments for title to the Dobruja.

a domination that was to last for four and a half centuries. Even the Principality of Wallachia was forced to pay tribute to the Ottomans, and a century later Moldavia did likewise.

Modern

The wave of the Ottoman Turks covered the Dobruja. During the four and a half centuries of their rule, large numbers of Turks and Tartars were colonized in this area and the land was periodically overrun by the movement of troops and military expeditions into the Rumanian Principalities or toward the Russian steppes. During this time, of course, intercourse between the peoples of the Rumanian Principalities and of the Dobruja was at a minimum, although the former contend that they maintained close religious and spiritual contact and that the support of the Wallachian Princes made it possible to construct churches and monasteries in the Dobruja despite the great prejudices of the Moslem Turks.

With the decadence of the Turkish Empire in the nineteenth century, the Dobruja became subject to new influences. A fresh inflax of Bulgarians appeared as colonists, those of the original invasion having decreased in numbers and settled mainly in and around Silistra, and there was likewise some colonization by Germans. At this time, too, the Dobruja was "discovered" by the Western Powers through the Crimean War*, the French arriving to construct a road between Rassova and Constanţa, and the British to build a railroad between Cerna Voda and Constanţa. Another immediate result of the Crimean War was the attribution to Rumania of the three

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* England, France and Turkey combined against Russia to stem Russian expansion toward the Mediterranean.

three southern districts of Bessarabia, of interest here because they were later taken back by Russia in exchange for Northern Dobruja.

By the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, closing the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 in which Rumania sided with the Russians, Rumania was accorded Northern Dobruja in return for the three Bessarabian districts just mentioned, thus establishing the line already described* as running roughly between Silistra and Mangalia. Bulgarian apologists affirm that the Rumanians were at the time greatly exercised over the loss of the Bessarabian districts but betrayed little appetite for the quid pro quo gained in the Dobruja. A Rumanian account of this episode**, on the other hand, reads as follows:

> "The war of the Russian and Rumanian allies against the Turks in 1877-78 broke the chains of the Balkan peoples enslaved by the Sultans for five hundred years. Rumania, whose army, commanded by the brave Charles I, decided the victory, conquered its complete independence and built itself into a Kingdom. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) attributed to it the Dobruja and the Delta of the Danube, its natural outlets to the Black Sea and the world. The Turks, moreover, did no more than to restore the provinces to those from whom they had taken them. Because of diplomatic intrigues, Rumania was then able to obtain only a mutilated Dobruja, burdened with an absurd frontier which cut it off from Silistra and the Silver Coast and all defense on the southern side. The injustice was to be corrected in 1913, by the annexation of the departments of Durostor and Caliacra which form what is sometimes called the Quadrilatère."

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* See pages 7-8.

** Radu Vulpé's "Ancient History of the Dobruja"; page 401 of "La Dobruja", enclosed herewith.

When, in 1913*, the Bulgarians were heavily engaged with the Turks in the Second Balkan War, Rumania intervened to occupy Southern Dobruja, or the Quadrilatère, and succeeded in having that area incorporated within the Rumanian frontiers by the Treaty of Bucharest of July 28, 1913. By the separate treaty concluded with the Central Powers on May 7, 1918, all of the Dobruja was taken away from Rumania, Bulgaria receiving Southern Dobruja up to a line which had previously been established by the disqualified San Stefano Treaty and the remainder to be shared by the Central Powers, but the final peace treaties of Paris closing the World War confirmed Rumanian possession of the Dobruja up to the 1913 line.

And so, today, Rumanian frontiers incorporate both Northern and Southern Dobruja. While Bulgaria has never recognized Rumanian title to the northern area and Bulgarian revisionist agitators often speak in general terms of "The Dobruja", actually the present-day dispute centers on Southern Dobruja, or the Quadrilatère.

In this brief sketch of Dobrujan history lie at least a few of the factors which the Bulgarian and Rumanian apologists utilize in their separate briefs as outlined in the following pages.

THE

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* On January 29th of this year a protocol was signed at London by the Rumanian Minister (Michu) and a special Bulgarian Envoy (Daref), by which certain minor frontier concessions were made to Rumania.

THE CASE FOR BULGARIA

In endeavoring to present the Bulgarian case on the Dobruja, the following paragraphs will be almost entirely devoted to Southern Dobruja. Private conversations with Bulgarian statesmen and officials, examination of Bulgarian propaganda literature, news reports and general observations all lead to the conclusion that the problem as posed today envisages the southern area alone. Historical and ethnological considerations find place in the Bulgarian argument, of course, but it is of interest to note that downright feeling and sentiment, engendered somewhat by practical values but more by grievances and complaints and righteous indignation over the treatment of the Bulgarian population of the Dobruja, form the real backbone of the revisionist demands from across the Danube. Their very bitterness demands attention. The following brief outline of the case will attempt to set down, rather than to analyze or evaluate, the various aspects of Bulgarian contentions.

Historical

Bulgarian argumentation, unlike the Rumanian, does not go very far back in history in setting forth its claims to the Dobruja. It spends almost no time on the First and Second Bulgarian Empires; in fact it bears virtually no references antedating the nineteenth century. One of the earliest notations cites a scheme projected in 1831, but never carried out, looking to the creation of a Bulgarian principality which, under Turkish vassalage, was to have included the whole of the Dobruja. When in 1878,

however

however, the Principality of Bulgaria was actually brought into being by the Treaty of Berlin, it was provided that Northern Dobruja should be the quid pro quo for Rumania's surrender to Russia of the three southern districts of Bessarabia, leaving only the relatively small Quadrilatère in the south within the new Bulgarian sphere. It is the Bulgarian contention that, although Rumania naturally protested bitterly against the cession of the southern Bessarabian districts to Russia, Bucharest really had no interest in Northern Dobruja, knew little about it, had no designs on it and did not want to accept it. The typical Bulgarian comment runs as follows*:

> "When in 1878 Rumania was faced with the prospect of losing Southern Bessarabia and was forced to accept Northern Dobruja in exchange, in order not to offend the susceptibilities of Russia when a refusal could have been considered a provocative act, not only did a unanimous cry burst forth in the Bucharest Parliament against the acceptance of the Bulgarian land beyond the Danube, the Dobruja, but it was clearly and categorically stated that this land was entirely strange and unknown to the Rumanians. It was called the 'country inhabited by bandits'. It was declared a malarial marshland. And the well known statesman and future President of the Council, Dimitrie Sturdza, said that there was scarcely anyone in Parliament who knew the Dobruja. Michel Kogalniceano, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, secretly sent men to visit the country that Russia wished to impose upon Rumania by force in exchange for southern Bessarabia."

Later, the Bulgarians recognize, Rumania came to realize the value of this "new strange land" which brought control of the Danube Mouths and a way across the river

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* Pages 15-16 of "L'Entente Bulgaro-Roumaine" by Dr. Iv. St. Penakov, a copy of which is appended hereto.

river to the Black Sea. And Bulgaria, while not admitting the Rumanian title historically or ethnically or in general equity, appreciates the practical value to Rumania of such an outlet to the Sea and is no longer disposed to contest this northern area.

But Southern Dobruja, forming the Quadrilatère, remained Bulgarian, under Turkish suzerainty, up to 1913*, when Rumania took advantage of the fact that the Bulgarian army was fully occupied with the Turks and Serbs and Greeks in the Second Balkan War and sent troops to occupy the two southern Dobrujan districts of Durostor and Caliacra. By the Treaty of Bucharest of July 28, 1913, Rumania was confirmed in the possession of this southern region and the line of demarcation was established as it stands today.

Bulgarians were embittered by this intervention by Rumania, seeing as a kind of treachery this attack on a defenseless area at a time when the Bulgarian troops were fully engaged elsewhere. They contend that the action came without provocation and was supported by no reason or justification, that this southern part of the Dobruja had never previously formed a part of Rumania, which not only could not find grounds for the occupation in historical and ethnical considerations but even failed to show any sound economic or military need. On the other hand, they add, the Dobruja formed an integral part of Bulgaria for five

centuries

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* After the First Balkan War had started in 1912 Rumania made known certain pretensions to a part of the Southern Dobruja, but the Conference of Ambassadors of the six great powers meeting at St. Petersburg granted only the town of Silistra and a two-mile strip of land around it.

centuries under Turkish domination and of free Bulgaria for the forty years prior to 1913.* Another argument is that, whereas in 1878 Rumania reluctantly accepted the Northern Dobruja as a forced acquirement thrust upon her in exchange for the Southern Bessarabian districts taken over by Russia, in the case of the Southern Dobruja Rumania took the initiative by expediting troops of occupation against a desperately preoccupied neighbour and former ally without any justification, provocation or reason other than that of opportunity. This Rumanian intervention is credited with deciding, at a critical moment, the military and diplomatic defeat of Bulgaria and so constituting a catastrophe as regards the country's legitimate aspirations.

The Bulgarian brief recalls that the reasons invoked by Rumanian apologists at the time included the need to protect the Cerna Voda - Constanța railway line, but promptly replies that this line already had thirty miles of protecting territory, whereas the newly established line brought Rumania within twelve miles of the vital Ruschuk-Varna line and, as the crow flies, only six miles from the important port of Varna itself. As to the Rumanian professions of necessity for a commercial and naval base at Mangalia or Balcic, the Bulgarian treatise remarks that such a base is being constructed

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*Not quite true. What is now Bulgaria was contained in the Turkish world, but not as a national entity specifically including the Dobruja. The Principality of Bulgaria was created only in 1878 by the Treaty of Berlin and won recognition as a separate sovereign State by the London Treaty of 1913.

at Taşaul, just above Constanţa and forty-two miles north of the 1878 line, whereas there has since 1913 been no thought or action looking to the construction of a base at Mangalia or Balcic. The Rumanians said in 1913 that it was vital for them to have a bridge across the Danube at Silistra, but the Bulgarians supinely retort that there still is no bridge at Silistra and the question has not even been mooted in the past twenty-seven years. Finally, Sofia remembers that Bucharest spoke in 1913 of the need for equilibrium in the Balkans, but feels that a World War which "tripled" the Rumanian territory, encompassing a population of 18,000,000 souls as against Bulgaria's 6,000,000, blacks out even this argument. In sum, it is difficult for the coldly reasoning Bulgarian to find any legitimation of Rumania's 1913 acquirement of Southern Dobruja.

But the Bulgarian does find an argument from the strictly selfish Rumanian point of view. He notes the problem created by the great peasant revolt in 1907, a revolt of honest tillers who had no land, who were starving for a share of the soil incorporated in the vast estates of the "boyars". He observes also that, although the rebellion was suppressed, the hunger of the peasant for land was not satiated, there was no agrarian reform and the problem remained. The prospect of acquiring fresh acres in the Dobruja was, therefore, most opportune, offering a sop to an acute agrarian situation which found no real solution for another fifteen years.

The Bulgarian thesis finds particular relish in recording

recording statements by various Rumanian scholars, historians and statesmen who in 1913 opposed or questioned the advisability of taking over the Southern Dobruja. In a volume entitled "L'Entente Bulgaro-Roumaine" by Dr. I. St. Penacof, Professor N. Iorga*, among others, is quoted at length. On page 28 of this volume he is quoted as saying apropos of the Dobrujan question in 1913:

> "The national aspirations of Rumania are directed to the North and the Northwest, toward Bessarabia and Transylvania. To go there she must have clean hands. She cannot, with hands soiled by an injustice to a Christian people fighting for national union, present herself to her co-nationals, and plead for her own national unity."

An article written by Professor Iorga on September 21, 1912, is also quoted:

> "The idea of territorial aggrandizement does not win our hearts when it has to do with a land where we have no brothers destined to live together with us. The soul of this people is very noble if it can become enthused over the thought of gaining prey when the adversary is in a difficult position....Rumania should be ready for the fray; but the Rumanian people does not see its own war beyond the Danube."

and again:

> "Whatever we may be invited to do beyond the Danube, whatever we may be forced to do, this war is not and can not be our national war."

The same volume includes other quotations in like vein and, of particular interest, a memorandum (pages 33-35) presented to the representatives of the Great Powers at Sofia by a delegation of 700 representatives of the towns and villages of the Southern Dobruja.

In

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*Professor Iorga, now a Crown Councilor, is renowned as Rumania's foremost scholar and historian; he is a former Prime Minister, political leader and newspaper editor.

In any case, Bulgaria was further embittered by the biting terms of the Paris treaties liquidating the World War, and, of course, particularly the Treaty of Neuilly, which, because of the "barbarous principle whereby no territory could be taken from the victors", confirmed Rumania's possession of the Southern Dobruja. Bulgarian chroniclers have not missed the fact, however, that even in 1918 and 1919 Rumanian statesmen were prone to discuss a relinquishment of the Southern Dobruja for a clearly recognized title to Bessarabia or, even, to the Banat*.

So, it will be seen, Bulgaria looks to history less to establish claim on the Southern Dobruja than to show that it contains no justification for Rumania.

Ethnological

In their argumentation both the Rumanians and the Bulgarians deal deviously and uncertainly with the more remote ethnological background of the Dobruja. The foregoing section on the history of the area will have given some idea of the human tides of many races and tongues that have swept over it in past centuries and undoubtedly will have suggested the complexity of the problem. For the practical Bulgarian, however, it is enough to know that according to the Bulgarian figures for 1910 the Bulgarian population of the two districts of the Quadrilatère (134,355 souls) represented 47.6% of the total, whereas the Rumanians (6,348 souls) accounted for only 2.3%. Moreover, it is argued, by the time of the "infamous" Treaty of Bucharest in 1913 the autochthon Bulgarian population

* See as of particular interest in this connection pages 40-43 of "Le Traité de Neuilly et la Bulgarie" by Professor G.P.Guénov.

population undoubtedly exceeded 50% and so had attained an absolute majority of the total population, which meant that for every Rumanian in the territory there were twenty Bulgarians. The few autochthon Rumanians are said to have lived mainly in the town of Tutrakan and a small village near Silistra. The principal other minorities inhabiting the area are, of course, the Turks, Gypsies, Tartars and Gagauţi. Bulgarians even go so far as to say that the Rumanian population of 2.3% was composed largely of deserters from the Rumanian army and take glee in noting that if such an ethnological representation gives Rumania just title to Southern Dobruja then Bulgaria has an even clearer title to the whole of Rumania, where the 700,000 Bulgarians represent roughly 3 1/2% of the total population.

The distribution of populations in the Southern Dobruja in 1913 lends, then, a certain smugness to the Bulgarian apologist, who finds it unnecessary to devote much space to a factor which can be passed over briefly as conclusive and irrefutable.

Looking at the same question from the point of view of present-day official Rumanian census figures, the Sofia press in current polemics can admit that the proportions have changed as a result of Bulgarian emigration and Rumanian colonization but maintain that the essential picture remains the same. When Bulgarian newspapers recall the fact of a preponderance of autochthon Bulgarians in Southern Dobruja, Rumanian journalists confuse the issue by retorting that in the (entire) Dobruja the Rumanians number 360,572 as opposed to only 185,279 Bulgarians and that even in

in the two southern districts of Durostor and Caliacra, which compose Southern Dobruja, the Bulgarians constitute only 37% of the population. But----, the Bulgarians do not want Northern Dobruja and do not mean to include it in their claims, whereas the Rumanians fail to add that, while the Bulgarian population of Southern Dobruja represents "only" 37% of the total, the Rumanian population today forms barely 20%! This distinction between the Northern and the Southern Dobruja, as against an easy conception of the Dobruja as a whole, is most important in the ethnological and historical, as well as other considerations invoked in the present dispute.

It is essential to bear in mind, then, that ethnologically the Southern Dobruja represented in 1913, according to Bulgarian statistics, a proportion of twenty Bulgarians to one Rumanian, and that Rumania's latest official census (1930) shows 37.85% Bulgarians and only 20.54% Rumanians*.

Thus the case for the Southern Dobruja from an ethnological point of view rests in favor of Bulgaria.

Relative Utility

Many pages of the Bulgarian argument are devoted to showing that Southern Dobruja holds relatively more practical value for Bulgaria than for Rumania. This Quadrilatère of approximately 3,000 square miles is frequently mentioned as "the granary of Bulgaria" and Bulgarian apologists constantly

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* See also unofficial figures for January 1, 1940, in footnote on page 17.

constantly stress the value of this disputed area in terms of comparative practicalities as falling overwhelmingly in the favor of Bulgaria.* It is noted, for example, that the Southern Dobruja represents 7.8% of the total area of Bulgaria, whereas it forms only 2.5% of the Rumanian total**. Likewise, the area of cultivable land stands in the proportion of 12.5% for Bulgaria as against 1.73% for Rumania. The percentages for grain are given as follows: wheat, 14.5% for Bulgaria and 3.18% for Rumania; barley, 18% for Bulgaria and 4.3% for Rumania; and maize (corn), 18% for Bulgaria and 2% for Rumania. This argument could be expanded indefinitely, embracing livestock, minerals, trade routes and the like, but can not be retailed fully in this brief sketch.

In portraying the economic significance of the Southern Dobruja for the two parties in dispute, the Bulgarian advocate does not neglect to point out that this area has never played a useful or necessary part in the economic life of Rumania, that it produces nothing which Rumania does not have abundantly elsewhere and that it would mean far less as a loss to Rumania than as a gain to Bulgaria. The life of the two ports of Ruschuk (Danubian) and Varna (Black Sea) is especially stressed as being dependent upon the Southern Dobruja; in particular, Varna not only has looked northward for its economic existence but affords the logical

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* The enclosed volume entitled "Le Problème de la Dobroudja du Sud (un aspect économique et social de ce problème)" is devoted almost entirely to this phase of the general question.

**Before the seizure of Bessarabia by Russia at the end of June, 1940.

logical and natural southward outlet for Mediterranean-headed shipments of Dobrujan products which must now be diverted northward to Constanţa before they find their way to the sea.

The foregoing and many other impressive arguments contained in the enclosures hereto constitute a good case for Bulgaria from the comparative utilitarian point of view.

Grievances and Complaints.

The Bulgarian case is, in the main, presented rather calmly from the historical, ethnological and utilitarian point of view, but it is filled with eloquence when it comes to a recital of the grievances and complaints arising out of the treatment of the Bulgarian "minority" in Southern Dobruja. Arguing that the Rumanian minority in Bulgaria, numbering 68,080 persons by Bulgarian official census of 1926 and roughly 150,000 by present Rumanian official estimate, is well treated and allowed its own priests and teachers, it points to the obligations incurred by Rumania vis-à-vis the various minorities included within her frontiers under the provisions of the Minorities Treaty of December 9, 1919, and the Rumanian Statute of Minorities promulgated on July 28, 1938*, and then proceeds to a lusty denunciation of the non-fulfilment of such obligations by the various Rumanian Governments. Sometimes Rumanian sources are quoted to afford a background of justice for the

* The texts of these two documents form enclosures hereto; see also despatch No.473 of August 10, 1938.

the charge of ill-treatment, such as, for example, the statements by Mr. Iuliu Maniu (well known National Peasant leader and one-time Premier) and Mr. Constantin Angelescu (former Cabinet member) on the occasion of a National Peasant reunion held at Bazargic (Dobritch) on January 18, 1925. The following are typical passages*:

Mr. Maniu

> "Instead of having the best functionaries sent to this province, it has been inundated with unscrupulous agents who pursue only individual and party interests. Laws have been voted which wipe out the most ancient economic and social traditions. Instead of a regime of legality and equity....they have introduced complete anarchy...."

Mr. Angelescu

> "Here in Southern Dobruja all the Governments have comported themselves with the population like a stepmother (marâtre)...Southern Dobruja has been humiliated and held in quarantine by the Liberal emissaries and functionaries avid for gain."

The almost endless list of Bulgaria's plaints regarding the treatment of its minority in Southern Dobruja can be grouped under four general headings: (1) Deprivation of land, (2) deprivation of citizenship, (3) deprivation of rights, and (4) abuse and terrorization.

1. Deprivation of land*

The Bulgarians claim that their minority population in Southern Dobruja has been deprived of its land through (a) discriminatory application of the Agrarian Reform, (b) verification of land titles, (c) prohibition to purchase and (d) various other measures.

The

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* For comprehensive treatment of this subject see especially "Le Problème de la Dobroudja du Sud" and "L'Entente Bulgaro-Roumaine", copies of which are enclosed herewith; also "Le Regime de la Propriété Rurale dans la Dobroudja du Sud".

The Rumanian Agrarian Reform of July 17, 1921, was drafted and promulgated in terms which made no discrimination as to different sections of the country and were accordingly as applicable to the Dobruja as to the Banat or Transylvania or any other part. But, say the Bulgarians*:

> "Not a single autochton Bulgarian was endowed with lands coming from the Agrarian Reform. Not a single inch of soil was attributed by the Rumanian State to an autochton minority inhabitant of the country; all of these lands served for the colonization of Rumanian elements brought from other regions and even from abroad."

It is contended on the one hand that, whereas such a reform, designed to place lands in the hands of peasants possessing none or having only insufficient areas through the utilization of over-size estates, found historical and social justice in the rest of the country, as it merely provided for the restitution of lands expropriated from the peasants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the Dobruja, on the other hand, lands have always been subject to the principle that they should belong to him who works them and there accordingly already existed an equitable distribution unburdened by great estates. Thus, a reform arising out of needs of other parts of the country was applied in Southern Dobruja only in its confiscatory sense and utilized in that area as an anti-minority instrument; Bulgarians unable to establish their Rumanian citizenship or title to their lands and those few who had large estates had their lands expropriated on a basis which amounted to a 2% indemnity, but in the redistribution

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* Page 206 of "Le Traité de Neuilly et la Bulgarie", by Professor G. P. Guénov.

redistribution no Bulgarian received any of these lands, which went either to the State or to Rumanian settlers and functionaries. Not even one of the 500 widows and orphans of World War veterans who fell in Rumanian service received land. Thus no Rumanian lost and no Bulgarian received; instead of bringing justice, the Reform provided a convenient means of "Rumanianization" of a border area.

Bulgarian land holdings in Southern Dobruja were further reduced through a process of "verification" of land titles, or three stages of a continuing verification bearing the dates of April 1, 1914, July 26, 1921 and April 22, 1924. It is claimed that this review or revision of ownership caused the Bulgarians of Southern Dobruja to lose as much as 70% of their total land holdings, not to mention verification costs, lawyers fees, bribes and other concomitant expenses. Eschewing technical and detailed exposition of the verification process for the sake of brevity, it may be said to have comprised two main features: (1) confiscation of one third of all land on the principle of imperfect ownership* and (2) reversion to the State of land to which title could not be proved. In establishing title to his land the burden of proof lay on the pretender to ownership; mere peaceful and undisputed possession, even for

long

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* Drafters of the 1914 verification law drew upon a law for Northern Dobruja dated April 3, 1882, which retained the usufruct idea contained in the Turkish term "irazi mirié", that is, property which ultimately belongs to the State but whose beneficiary or "owner" enjoys the fruits thereof. The Bulgarian response is that Southern Dobruja was not taken over from Turkey but from Bulgaria, which recognizes only one type, that is full and complete ownership.

long periods, established no claim. Documentary proofs had to be filed within ninety days in every case; if these were lost, non-existent, tardy or in imperfect state, title was forfeit and the land confiscated. It is claimed that following these verifications more than half of the Bulgarian population remained without lands.

Other land measures of which the Bulgarians complain are the "commassation" (remembrement) of lands, a process designed to separate lands retained by the autochthon Bulgarians from those reverting to the State or granted Rumanian settlers and inevitably resulting in the Bulgarians receiving those lands which were least fertile and most distant from the villages, and the prohibition placed on Bulgarian purchases of land. The second of these measures, achieved indirectly through giving the State option on all sales, depriving the Bulgarians of bank credits and facilities and other means, became especially important when extensive emigration of the Turkish population* placed a great deal of land on the

*The emigration of the Turks from the Dobruja actually started in 1929 but assumed really large proportions only in the 1934-1936 period. A writer for CURENTUL of December 7, 1934, noted that 9,900 families, representing roughly 50,000 people or one quarter of the total Turkish population of the Dobruja, had left for Turkey in the space of one month! Quotations from the Bucharest press contained on pages 10 to 134 of the enclosed "Une Nouvelle Injustice dans la Dobroudja du Sud" narrate the accumulation of difficulties since 1913 which finally forced the Turks to leave----requisitions, corvées, excessive levies, deprivation of land, religious insults, physical violence, administrative abuses and the like----, and Bulgarian sources state that all these and many more difficulties were placed in the way of the Bulgarians in the hope that they would leave and so give way to Rumanian settlers (mainly Kutzovlacks, or Macedonian Rumanians) and the program of Rumanianization.

the market at advantageous prices. The Bulgarians claim that they received not one acre of the lands thus made available, and profess to see in the entire land policy the aim of driving all the minorities out of Southern Dobruja in the endeavor to Rumanianize, and to make safe, a "dangerous" frontier area.

2. Deprivation of Citizenship

Another basic hardship of which the Bulgarian population of the Dobruja has complained is the "verification" of citizenship to which they have now been three times subjected since 1913. Whereas the students of international law in Sofia claim that the very fact of annexation should in itself bestow citizenship upon the population of the territory affected unless it opts otherwise, Rumania has imposed repeated reviews, or re-examinations of citizenship status which for unsuccessful applicants means that they become, after endless formalities and expenses, expatriates (apatridés) whose land is confiscated against reimbursement amounting to 1 or 2% and who, having lost all civil standing, are subject to expulsion. It is claimed that 10,000 Bulgarian families, representing roughly 50,000 people, have so lost their citizenship and their lands.

3. Deprivation of Rights

In the Bulgarian bill of complaints the deprivation of cultural, religious and other "rights"----as provided for in international law, the Minorities Treaty and the Rumanian Statute for the Minorities----naturally figure

as

as a major cause for dissatisfaction. For example, it is claimed that whereas there were in Southern Dobruja in 1913 some 275 Bulgarian schools with 589 teachers and 21,000 students, there remained in 1914 only four such schools with 55 teachers and 2,000 students. State subsidies available in 1930 to the German minority schools in all of Rumania are given as 50,000,000 lei, representing 110 lei per German inhabitant, for the Hungarians 11,000,000 lei, or six lei per person, and for the Bulgarians as 700,000, or one leu per person, whereas the figure for the total population amounted to 330 lei per inhabitant. Similar figures are given for the churches, it being claimed that only a handful of the eighty churches of 1913 now function, the buildings being taken over and Rumanian priests and language being installed. In this and innumerable other ways, it is argued, the Rumanian Governments have endeavored to stamp out all vestiges of Bulgarian culture in Southern Dobruja.

Other items are, of course, the suppression of Bulgarian-language newspapers and literature, the elimination of agencies or branches of Bulgarian banks, and the virtual impossibility of any participation in the political life or administration of the country through effective representation or the possession of administrative posts in either the local or central Government of the country.

4. Abuse and Terrorization

The list of assorted abuses and instances of terroristic activity, retailed at length in the various

enclosures

enclosures hereto, includes a bitter account of the results of Rumanian endeavors to "colonize" Southern Dobruja. In the early and middle twenties an indeterminate number of Macedonian Rumanians, or Kutzovlachs, were imported into the area as a part of the alleged program of "Rumanianizing" the new southeastern frontier. These Kutzovlachs were mainly mountaineers, artisans and traders, rather than farmers, who were being encouraged by the Greek Government to leave Macedonia and give place to the influx of Greeks from Asia Minor at this time. According to further Bulgarian accounts these armed, arrogant, presumptuous settlers, sent to the Dobruja to drive out the Bulgarians (and Turks), not only were given special facilities for buying and receiving lands and granted privileges and advantages denied to others, but were allowed to commandeer means of transport, requisition supplies, and install themselves in the houses of the Bulgarians, who were relegated to outbuildings as servants, made to supply seeds, sow crops and otherwise submit to the bullying, browbeating, cheating and robbery of the newcomers.

Other abuses underlined in the complaint include such arbitrary acts as the utilization of "corvées", whereby the autochthon Bulgarians were required to provide free labor and transportation for functionaries, and the practice of forcing the Bulgarian population to lodge and feed the Rumanian officials, as well as to cultivate their easily acquired grants of land. Mass

arrests

arrests on the pretext of uncovering communist or irredentist or revolutionary plots are also recorded, and it is complained that when anything goes wrong in the Dobruja, Bucharest begins to shout the terrifying word, "Comitadjis". The Bulgarians explain that, essentially, there is no Comitadji element in the Dobruja other than that created by the Rumanian Government in forcing the flight of political refugees, who, usually separated from their lands and homes and families, constitute a naturally restive factor which could easily be eliminated by an amnesty. The newspaper DACIA of Constanța (June 2, 1926) is quoted in this regard:

> "We have a numerous original population of Southern Dobruja which took refuge in Bulgaria at the time of the occupation of the country by the Rumanian authorities. These refugees there soon began to suffer hunger and now no one gives any thought to their fate. Pushed by misery they often make pillaging attacks on Southern Dobruja. Thus peaceful men become bandits----- The sole solution capable of suppressing the Comitaji is the granting of an amnesty."

The Bulgarian chronicle of outrages in the Dobruja is long and impressive, sometimes, indeed, quite startling. The bloodiest chapter of all, however, is the one that narrates the story of Staro Selo*. In summary, it reads as follows: On the night of June 3, 1926, following an attack of four robbers on the tax-gatherer of Staro Selo, in the Silistra region, a Bulgarian guard and a Rumanian gendarme who sought to intervene

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* A full account of this strange episode is contained in the enclosed volume entitled "La Tragédie de Staro Sèlo".

intervene were killed by the premature explosion of their own hand grenade. The following morning, after the authorities at Toutrakan had finally been notified, a Captain Popescu, of the Rumanian gendarmery, appeared on the scene to wreak a vengeance that is famous in Bulgarian annals of outrages in the Dobruja. Forty-seven innocent persons were arrested, tied together and kept prisoner throughout July 4th and 5th, to be taken to Silistra for questioning. At dawn of July 6th they started for Silistra under an escort of gendarmes, but were later met by a company of the 36th Infantry regiment, whereupon the gendarmes retired and at least forty-two of the forty-seven were shot, bayoneted, hideously tortured or otherwise put to death.

Naturally, this episode, construed by Bulgarians as conclusive proof of a Rumanian program of relentless persecution of the Bulgarian population designed to induce general emigration, had wide repercussions and is constantly referred to in the Bulgarian propaganda.

Another incident of similar character occurred just over a year ago, on May 10, 1939, when twenty-two Bulgarians (and one Rumanian) were shot down by their escort of gendarmes. As a result of Rumanian mobilization measures of March and April, 1939, a number of Bulgarians are supposed to have fled across the frontier, whereupon a gendarmery company was established in the village of Bilitza and twenty-five Bulgarians were arrested on the charge of engaging in salt contraband activities. When they were being conducted toward Silistra, ostensibly for questioning, two gendarmes detached themselves and fired

shots,

shots, shouting that they were being attacked by Comitadjis, which became a signal for a general slaughter of the prisoners. Three escaped to Bulgaria to tell the story, but the others were killed. Bulgarian sources could not then refrain from mentioning the technique whereby Iron Guard leader Codreanu was shot, with his lieutenants, "while trying to escape" and the Rumanian Government was considerably embarrassed in seeking a suitable explanation of the unsavory incident.*

The foregoing constitute the two outstanding episodes in the long list of alleged cases of torture, rape, false accusations, groundless arrests and imprisonment, and general maltreatment which are invoked by Bulgarian apologists. They claim that such persecution has resulted in the forced emigration of some 50,000 Bulgarians, or 25% of the total, thus not only creating a grave problem in the Dobruja because of divided families, but also burdening Bulgaria with a difficult problem in finding land and employment for the refugees.

Summary of Bulgarian Case

Noting, then, that Rumania has forgotten a Minorities Treaty of 1919 and fails to apply the well-intentioned Minorities Statute of 1938, Bulgarians recall Article 19 of the Pact of the League of Nations and even go back to their reservations regarding the Southern Dobruja at the time of signing the Treaty of Bucharest of July 28, 1913. By every word and gesture they show a

quiet

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* See the Legation's despatch No.893 of May 12, 1940, and reports from the Legation at Sofia during the same period.

quiet, dogged, stubborn and abiding determination to some day see the restoration of Southern Dobruja to Bulgaria. As Dr. Ivan St. Pénakof, author of much of the Bulgarian propaganda on this subject, once said to the writer of this Memorandum: "As long as Rumania persists in the refusal to satisfy Bulgarian claims to the Dobruja, she and her friends are our enemies; only through a rectification of the Dobruja boundary can we become friends." The Bulgarians know also that they have the advantage in weight of sentiment; whereas the Rumanian is relatively lukewarm, nonchalant, or indifferent regarding the fate of a territory which has something of a colonial aspect and is of little interest except as a highway to the summer resort of Balcic, the Bulgarian is bitter, fervent and obsessed in his demands.

Thus, the Bulgarians feel secure in the justice of their case: Ethnologically, they have an easily demonstrable balance of argument; historically, their claims to the Southern Dobruja are at least as good, and in their belief infinitely stronger, than those of the Rumanians; the practical value of the area is overwhelmingly in their favor; and they can draw upon a fund of literature on abuses, complaints, terrorization and oppression that would satisfy any propagandist in a revisionist cause. They maintain that the Rumanians, on the other hand, produce only strategic and military arguments, scarcely attempting to establish ethnical, historical, economic or social rights or otherwise to legalize their present possession.

And

And the Bulgarians have the satisfaction of feeling that there are many intelligent Rumanians who believe that Southern Dobruja must eventually be returned to Bulgaria, For example, Mr. Grigor Vasileff, Bulgarian Minister of Agriculture some fifteen years ago and an ardent nationalist and revisionist, told the writer of this Memorandum only a few weeks ago that Mr. Gheorges Tatarescu, Crown Councilor and Prime Minister for many years in both the former and the present regime, had while Premier privately admitted to him that "when the time becomes opportune Rumania must and will make cessions to Bulgaria" in the Debruja.

Finally, the Bulgarians take pride in quoting various foreign sources regarding the merits of their case. The following extracts will serve as examples:

Colonel House

"Bulgaria absolutely should have its frontier in the Southern Dobruja, as it existed before the Balkan War."*

Outline of Tentative Report (by an American Commission set up by President Wilson)

"The Bulgaro-Rumanian frontier on the Dobruja side should be reestablished as it was before 1913, Southern Dobruja being returned to Bulgaria."**

Report to Supreme Allied Council on Territorial Questions

"It seems to a majority of the Commission that a line adopting the frontier of 1913.....:

"(a) Would assure a good defensive frontier to Rumania as well as to Bulgaria;

"(b)

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* "Le Traité de Neuilly et la Bulgarie", by G. P. Guénov, page 31.

** Idem, page 31.

"(b) Would restore to the latter power territories in which the Rumanian population represents a small minority with relation to the Bulgarian element and whose economic orientation is directed toward the South."*

THE

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* "L'Entente Bulgaro-Roumaine", by Dr. Iv. St. Penakov, pages 87-88.

THE RUMANIAN POSITION

The foregoing pages have outlined the general foundations of the Bulgarian claims to the territory known as Southern Dobruja or the Quadrilatère. It will now be necessary briefly to note the Rumanian position vis-à-vis these claims. Many of the Rumanian arguments have already been set up for refutation in the Bulgarian brief and so require only bare mention here. Broadly speaking it may be said that Rumania's ethnological, historical and practical arguments are very weak and that probably purely political considerations have constituted the backbone of Rumania's refusal so far to give consideration to the Bulgarian demands.

Ethnological

In the distribution of populations, naturally a principal criterion in the application of the principle of self-determination, the Rumanian case is particularly weak. The Bulgarian figures for 1910, not seriously challenged by the Rumanians, show that there were only 6,348 Rumanians in the two departments of Durostor and Caliacra as against 134,355 Bulgarians, or a proportion of 2.3% as against 47.6% of the total. Rumanian census figures for 1930, on the other hand, indicate only 77,728 persons of Rumanian ethnical origin as compared to 143,209 Bulgarians, or 20.54% Rumanians and 37.85% Bulgarians. These figures would seem to leave little

basis

basis for argument.

When newspaper polemics of recent weeks finally produced a Bulgarian claim to ethnological preponderance in Southern Dobruja, the Rumanian press was officially provided with a reply which veiled the real issue; it was to the effect that there are in the Dobruja 360,572 Rumanians and only 185,279 Bulgarians and that even in the Quadrilatère the Bulgarians are in the minority because they account for only 37% of the total population. But, whereas the Bulgarians were speaking only of Southern Dobruja, the figures given in the Rumanian reply covered the entire Dobruja, and the Rumanians did not mention that in the Quadrilatère the Rumanians constitute only 20% of the total population!

Historical

Reference to the section of this Memorandum which deals with the history of the Dobruja will disclose little to establish for Rumania a clear-cut title to Southern Dobruja. Rumanian apologists go far back into history* to discover traces of the same branches of the human race on both sides of the Danube, to prove that the Dacians pushed their way across the river to the Black Sea under Roman rule and to show that the Wallachian Prince, Mircea, established his authority in the Dobrujan area.** They find

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*See, for example, the attached copies of the Rumanian Academy's "La Dobrudja" and "La Dobroudja: Coup d'Oeil sur son Histoire et son Caractère Ethnique".

**Bulgarians speak of this extension of Rumanian rule and authority as amounting merely to "brief depredations by an avaricious Wallachian Prince".

find also that in the first century B.C. King Burebista of the Getae* assumed control of the Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister and that "his authority extended from the Alps to the Crimea, and from the Carpathians in the North to beyond the Balkans". But assassination brought an early division of his great empire.

Rumanian writers are fond of pointing out the fact that the Dobrujan area has in all times been subjected to two movements, one longitudinal and the other transverse, the first being one of war and invasion and destruction and the second one of peace and prosperous development. In other words, the longitudinal movements have meant the invasions of successive waves of Asiatic and barbarian hordes, or the endeavors of the southern countries to meet the unending attacks and establish a line of defense; the transverse movement, on the other hand, represents natural peacetime extension eastward in the development of trade routes and the expansion of economic interests. Thus the presence of the Rumanians (or the Getae or Daci) has always meant peace, trade, prosperity and security for the area.

The more recent periods of history are handled by Rumanian writers in this wise:**

> "When, in the nineteenth century, the decadence of the Turkish Empire started and the regions of the Lower Danube were cleared of the domination of the Sultans, first as a result of the Imperialist efforts of Russia, then thanks to the decisive intervention of the young and modern Rumanian State, it all

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*Greek term for the people called Dacians under the Romans; Getae and Dacians are accordingly one and the same people, ancestors of the present Rumanians.

**Rumanian Academy's "La Dobroudja", copy of which is enclosed, page 401.

all amounted to no more than a restoration. The course of history again took up of itself from the point where it had been interrupted almost five centuries before. The peace of Adrianople (1829), by reestablishing the liberty of international trade on the Danube, immediately restored to the Rumanian principalities their economic prosperity of the fourteenth century. The war of the Russian and Rumanian allies against the Turks in 1877-1878 broke the chains of the Balkan peoples who had been enslaved by the Sultans for five hundred years. Rumania, whose army, commanded by Charles I, decided the victory, conquered its complete independence and built itself into a kingdom. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) attributed to it the Dobruja and the Delta of the Danube, its natural outlets to the Black Sea and to the world. The Turks, moreover, did nothing more than to restore these provinces to those from whom they had taken them. Because of diplomatic intrigues Rumania was then only able to obtain a mutilated Dobruja, burdened with an absurd frontier which cut it off from Silistra and the Silver Coast and from all defense of the southern side. The injustice had to be corrected in 1913, through the annexation of the Departments of Durostor and of Caliacra, which form what is sometimes called the Quadrilatère."

Thus, in a way, Rumania argues the right of conquest in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, and the same argument is evident in the intervention in the war of 1913. This argument was just about as good as any other until the term "self-determination of peoples" began to be bandied about at the close of the World War, but it is of doubtful avail at the present time. The pattern of Dobrujan history shows, then, certain patches of Getaean or Dacian or Rumanian domination and authority, but Bulgarian patches are not lacking in counter-balance and it seems likely that the coloring of population figures will prove to be of greater importance.

Economic

While Bulgarians stress the relative economic importance of Southern Dobruja to their country, Rumanian

apologists

apologists give next to no space to this argument. This is readily understandable in the light of comparative statistics showing the proportion of population, land area, crops, minerals and other resources to the total economic values at the present disposal of the two countries.

Strategic

The Bulgarian thesis recalls all of the 1913 arguments invoked by Rumania to justify occupation of the New Dobruja. They have already been set forth and may be recalled as follows:

1. Rumania needed Silistra in order that a bridge might be constructed over the Danube at this point.

Bulgarians reply that no such bridge has been built, nor even talked about, in the intervening twenty-seven years.

2. Bucharest proposed the construction of a great commercial and naval base at Mangalia or Balcic.

Sofia notes that such a base is now being constructed at Taşaul, just north of Constanţa, but there are no signs of one further south.

3. It was a Rumanian contention that the southern boundary was essential to an adequate protection of the Cerna-Voda-Constanţa line of communication to the Black Sea, as it would otherwise be indefensible from the military point of view.

It is the Bulgarian contention that the line had an adequate hinterland of protection, whereas the new boundary came within a much shorter distance of Bulgaria's important Ruschuk-Varna line.

It seems likely that for purposes of defense any Rumanian military authority would prefer the southern, or present, boundary, but it seems equally likely that

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the Bulgarian General Staff has similar vital interests in the location of the frontier line. Actually, the Rumanians probably have a little edge on the Bulgarians in this argument.

Controlling Rumanian Considerations

There is good reason to believe, however, that the various Rumanian Governments have not looked to ethnological or historical or practical considerations for their fundamental justification in clinging to the Southern Dobruja and so refusing to satisfy the Bulgarian demands. More logic is found in two more realistic factors, first, a natural distaste for the mere fact of giving up or losing something that has been gained and, second, the precedent that any cession would have created for instant demands from Russia for Bessarabia and from Hungary for Transylvania.

It is undeniable that Rumania emerged from the World War with frontiers that went well beyond any previous dreams. But Rumania was on the side of the victors, and discovered a windfall of protection in the Versailles and Paris Treaties, the Covenant of the League of Nations and, later, a Balkan Entente which hemmed in a disarmed and helpless Bulgaria. The psychology of the times was one of preservation of the status quo. Why give up anything that had been won? Why generously cede a territory that had been vouchsafed by world conclave? This concept has now been changed----by the Anschluss, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the disappearance of Poland and, latterly, the seizure of Bessarabia----, but it held good for twenty years. During that period Rumania would,

indeed,

indeed, have been exceptional in its magnaminity if it had suddenly succumbed to a fit of generosity and said to Bulgaria: "Here, take Southern Dobruja; it is yours." No, this was a time of collective security and the cardinal point in Rumanian foreign policy was "preservation of existing frontiers". Today, of course, this heretofore controlling way of thought has been outmoded. Rumania is caught in a swirl of fast-changing frontiers, has within recent weeks lost Bessarabia to Russia and realizes that at last the turbulent waters of revisionism are ready to leap the old Dobrujan and Transylvanian frontiers.

The idea of setting a precedent has probably been even more prominent in Rumanian thought. It is difficult to believe that at different times during the past year Rumania would not have been glad for the sake of Balkan solidarity to cede to Bulgaria the few thousand square miles of Southern Dobruja. But it was natural to anticipate that any such cession to Bulgaria would precipitate immediate and categoric demands from both Russia and Hungary. As long as post-war boundaries and treaties held, any concession to one revisionist party would have brought increased clamorings from the other two. This undoubtedly constituted a controlling cause of Rumanian deafness to Bulgarian calls for a modification of the Dobrujan frontier.

Another phase of the question not often mentioned may be found in the fact that when Queen Marie, mother of King Carol, died in July 1938, it was learned that she had asked that her heart be given rest in the little chapel

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in the gardens surrounding her beloved villa at Balcic, just near the Bulgarian boundary. This was done, and it occurred to some that King Carol would be particularly loath to see a place that his Mother loved so well pass into Bulgarian hands. The writer of this Memorandum learned from Mr. Grigor Vasillef* that Bulgarians had given thought to this point. He said: "The Queen was greatly attached to Balcic and now her heart rests there. Good. We will make it a shrine, a shrine honored and protected by a military guard; a guard of Rumanian or Bulgarian soldiers, whichever the King desires. We will do everything possible to meet his wishes in this regard." Recent information indicates, however, that the King has recently had the casket containing the Queen's heart removed from Balcic to the Royal burial place at Curtea d'Arges. It is also just now reported that many of the treasures from the Queen's villa there have been evacuated to Bucharest.

The foregoing paragraphs show that the Rumanian justification for retention of the Dobruja is not strong. Ethnologically the case is extremely weak, historically it is subject to question, practically it is unconvincing, and the really controlling arguments of recent years are fast slipping away.

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* See page 48.

HISTORY OF RUMANIAN-BULGARIAN RELATIONS

The relations between Rumania and Bulgaria may be said to have been normal up to 1878; in a way, of course, they were non-existent, since the Principality of Bulgaria really only acquired the stature of a political entity by the terms of the Treaty of Berlin of that year. Ancient and medieval history may, then, be largely disregarded as having little bearing in the present study.

It is interesting to note, however, that after the departure of the Romans in the sixth century Slavic influence was important in the Dacian area, and the Bulgarians claim that this influence was largely Bulgarian. They note that two-fifths of the words in the Rumanian language are of Slavic origin, that the Slavic language had official status, that the political and administrative classes were Slavic, i.e., Bulgarian, that "the ancient chronicles of the Rumanians are also written in the Slavic language, perhaps even by Bulgarians", and that the principalities on both sides of the river were closely bound together.

But the shifting of peoples and of seats of domination in such far times is obscure and complicated. It will suffice to demonstrate that neither party has a monopoly on the remote past by recalling that in the first century

B.C.

B.C. Burebista, the King of the Getae (forerunners of the Rumanians), had extended his authority "from the Alps to the Crimea, and from the Carpathians in the North to beyond the Balkans", whereas toward the end of the First Empire, that is, in the early part of the tenth century, the Bulgarian Emperor Simeon could boast that his dominions extended "from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, and from the borders of Thessaly to the Save and the Carpathians".

During the periods of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1186-1396) and of the Turkish domination (1396-1878) there were no developments in Rumanian-Bulgarian relations; indeed, in the early part of the nineteenth century the Bulgarian race was scarcely known, even to scholars, and there was as yet no Bulgarian State. It is only in 1878 that the two countries began to have dealings with each other and it has generally been the Dobruja, or a part of the Dobruja, which has been at stake.

By the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, by which the Great Powers modified the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878) in final liquidation of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, Russia succeeded in re-acquiring the three southern districts of Bessarabia which had been attributed to Rumania at the close of the Crimean War in 1856 and foisted upon Rumania in exchange that part of the Dobruja which has now come to be known as Northern Dobruja. Rumanian troops occupied the area on November 26, 1878. By the same Treaty the Principality of Bulgaria, previously given a certain elementary form through the issuance by the Porte of a firman

establishing

establishing a Bulgarian exarchate (February 28, 1870), was created and made tributary to the Sultan.* Thus came the first real and immediate clash of Rumanian-Bulgarian interests, as the new Principality aspired to the inclusion of the Dobruja within its frontiers. Later on, however, toward the end of the century, the Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand and his famous Premier Stamboloff succeeded in establishing excellent relations with Rumania. Bulgaria became an independent Kingdom upon the recognition by the various powers of the Proclamation of Independence of October 5, 1908.

During the early part of the present century Rumania's chief political interest south of the Danube centered in the Kutzovlach communities in Macedonia. But friction on this subject lay mainly with Greece and did not greatly affect Rumanian-Bulgarian relations.

Rumania did not join the other Balkan countries in their struggle against Turkey in the First Balkan War.

During the Second Balkan War in 1913, when the Greeks and the Serbs turned against Bulgaria in the haggling over the new Balkan boundaries, Rumania finally intervened and turned the balance decisively against Bulgaria. While the Rumanian armies fought no battles worth mentioning, their presence within thirty miles of the Bulgarian capital, when the Bulgarian forces were already fully occupied with the Turks, Serbs and Greeks,

forced

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*Actually the Turkish suzerainty from this time on amounted to little more than a "constitutional fiction" and the tribute stipulated in 1878 was not paid.

forced King Ferdinand to apply for terms of peace. By the ensuing Treaty of Bucharest, signed on July 28, 1913, Rumania obtained possession of Southern Dobruja, or the Quadrilatère, and the boundary line as then established forms the frontier in dispute between the two countries today. This episode, in which Bulgarians consider Rumania struck a dagger into the back of a helpless and desperately occupied neighbor, is the main cause of the great bitterness of feeling between the two countries.

Again in the World War, Rumania and Bulgaria found themselves in opposing camps. Again Rumania was on the winning and Bulgaria on the losing side. Bulgaria entered the War on the side of the Central Powers on October 14, 1915, and was forced to sign an early peace with the Allies at Salonika in September 30, 1918. Rumania joined the Allied cause on August 28, 1916, and was forced to sign an early peace with the Central Powers in March 1918, but was able to resume activities during the last few days of the war in November 1918.

Bulgaria was accordingly one of the vanquished nations whose voice was not heard in the post-war settlement. The Paris Peace Treaties confirmed Rumania's possession of both Northern and Southern Dobruja and upheld the frontier line established by the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913.

RUMANIAN-BULGARIAN RELATIONS SINCE THE WORLD WAR

Trade

Commercial relations between Rumania and Bulgaria have never really been of much importance since both countries are mainly agricultural and consequently find little mutual advantage in an exchange of goods. A further consideration that has undoubtedly played an important role in holding trade to a low level is the constant drag of political animosity between the two countries which has constituted an effective bar to goodwill in the development of relations of all kinds.

A Rumanian-Bulgarian clearing accord was concluded November 19, 1935, and amended on February 3rd and 9th, 1937, for an indefinite period, but the results of this arrangement have fallen far short of expectations. Even the exports of petroleum products from Rumania to Bulgaria have always been fairly unimportant, for the simple reason that Bulgaria normally gives preference to other sources of supply.

The following table will serve to indicate the very small volume of trade between the two countries since 1936:

Year	Rumanian Imports from Bulgaria (in thousands of lei*)	Percentage of Rumania's Total Imports
1936	626	0.01
1937	10,476	0.05
1938	9,060	0.05
1939	10,026	0.05

Year

* The official lei-dollar rate is 211.65.

Year	Rumanian Exports to Bulgaria (in thousands of lei)	Percentage of Rumania's Total Exports
1936	4,544	0.2
1937	243,453	0.7
1938	197,458	0.9
1939	294,458	1.1

Rumanian exports to Bulgaria comprise mainly oil and animal products, while Bulgarian exports to Rumania include tobacco, perfume essences and some food products.

During 1938 and 1939 several attempts were made at establishing more extensive trade relations between the two countries. The visit to Bulgaria of Mr. Mititza Constantinescu, Governor of the National Bank of Rumania, and the visit to Bucharest of Mr. Dobre Bodjiloff, Governor of the National Bank of Bulgaria, towards the end of 1938, as well as the creation of a Rumanian-Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce, afford typical instances of these attempts. Competent circles opine, however, that as long as political animosities exist between the two countries such endeavors to develop trade relations are hopeless.

Communications

At the beginning of August 1935, a convention for the regulation of railway traffic from the frontier Boteni-Oboriste was concluded between Rumanian and Bulgarian delegates at Varna covering customs formalities, passport visas, sanitary regulations, and transit of goods through Rumania from Bulgaria to other countries.

On April 1, 1936, there came into force a special agreement between the Rumanian Railway Administration, the Rumanian River Navigation Service and the Bulgarian Railway Administration, concerning the transport of goods between Rumania

mania and Bulgaria across the Danube at Giurgiu-Ruschuk.

At the beginning of 1938 a mixed Rumanian-Bulgarian commission met at Sofia to discuss plans for the construction of a ferryboat connecting Giurgiu, Rumania, and Ruschuk, Bulgaria. The Rumanian Government ratified this arrangement at the end of January 1938. When this service is finally inaugurated it will greatly facilitate both passenger and freight traffic between the two countries.

There are two trains daily going from Bucharest to Giurgiu, and Rumanian vessels assure regular service across the Danube to Ruschuk. This service is interrupted in the winter by the freezing of the Danube, however, and traffic is impossible for some two to four months each year depending upon the severity of the winter.

A regular thrice-weekly air service between Bucharest and Sofia is maintained by Rumanian planes (formerly Polish) and it is hoped that daily service may be inaugurated shortly. This service is also suspended, however, during the winter months, usually from late October to early April. Thus for a considerable period of each year no means of direct communication whatever is available between Bucharest and Sofia, with the result that travelers are forced to go by way of Belgrade or other indirect routes.

Telegraphic communication between the two capitals is considered normal and telephone connections are possible, although conversations are rigorously controlled on both sides.

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The only means of water communication between the two countries aside from the Giurgiu-Ruschuk ferry route across the Danube lies between the respective Black Sea ports, but is confined mainly to infrequent sailings between Constanţa and Varna.

Political

An examination of Rumanian-Bulgarian political relations since the World War* reveals a steady development of the endeavor of the other Balkan states to hold Bulgaria within bounds. One of the greatest gainers from the war, Rumania emerged with almost doubled territory and population. But Bulgaria, having achieved virtually every desire by the Treaty of San Stefano only to find disillusionment in the Treaty of Berlin, again found at the end of the World War that the gains had been swept away by final defeat. Postwar policy has accordingly meant for Rumania holding on to the prizes of war, preservation of "existing frontiers"; but for Bulgaria it has signified the redress of intolerable wrongs.

Thus the raison d'être of the Balkan Entente**, a political straightjacket for Bulgaria, may be traced to the Treaties of Paris of 1919. But the ground had been prepared as early as 1913 and 1914 when Rumania, although not a party to the Greco-Serb defensive treaty of May 19, 1913, began collaboration with Greece and Serbia to [illegible] retain

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* Most of the data herein contained on this subject for the years 1920 to 1935 is drawn from the various volumes of the "Survey of International Affairs" compiled by the British Institute of International Affairs. Precise citations are not given except when deemed necessary.

**The formation of a Balkan Union or Federation was first suggested during the closing years of the eighteenth century by a Greek (Rhigas Pherios) and had been discussed periodically ever since.

retain what had been gained from Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War. The first concrete step in this direction occurred when one of the three bipartite treaties constituting the Little Entente, the Yugoslav-Rumanian Agreement of June 7, 1921, provided for the maintenance of the Treaty of Neuilly as well as that of Trianon.

But during the early postwar period Bulgaria concentrated on internal reconstruction and during the first four or five years peace in this part of the world was endangered only once, when the Rumanian, Yugoslav and Greek Governments addressed a joint note to Bulgaria and appealed to the League of Nations regarding the incursions of armed bands (so-called Comitadjis) into their territories. The Bulgarian Government did not deny the incursions, but did deny its ability to stop them under the military and other handicaps imposed by the Treaty of Neuilly. Otherwise Bulgaria afforded no special preoccupation to any of its neighbors and by the end of 1923 it began to look as if the Little Entente might develop into a Southeastern bloc including Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece.

It is noteworthy that at the time of the Greco-Bulgarian frontier incident of October 1925 the Bulgarian Government had, before approaching the League of Nations, asked Rumania and other powers for their friendly intervention, and that Rumania and Bulgaria were found collaborating in various commissions and activities of the League of Nations. By 1926 it became evident that, whereas Czechoslovakia collaborated with Yugoslavia and Rumania in affairs pertaining to Hungary, when complications arose

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with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia stood aloof and was replaced by Greece. A forecast of the Balkan Entente then appeared when Yugoslavia suggested to Greece the desirability of some sort of "guarantee pact" on the Locarno model.

But, also in 1926, incidents occurred in the Dobruja, including the famous "Tragedy of Staro Sélo"*, as well as on the Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontier. Yugoslavia made strong protests and Rumania established a military zone eighteen miles deep on the Bulgarian frontier in Southern Dobruja. Both States warned the Great Powers that they would be forced to take effective measures to put an end to the activities of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and of the comitadjis. The critical situation was finally resolved by a series of conciliatory diplomatic notes.**

In the following year new problems arose regarding, among others, the sequestration of Bulgarian property in Rumania, but no settlement was achieved and when toward the end of 1929 Rumania announced the decision to liquidate by auction sale the property of Bulgarian (and Hungarian) nationals confiscated during the World War the Bulgarian Minister at Bucharest lodged formal protest. This question was finally suitably settled in 1931, but problems created by Rumanian expropriation of Bulgarian

small-holders

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* For an account of the Staro-Sélo affair see pages 44-45.
**See pages 218-222 of the 1926 volume of Survey of International Affairs regarding this and the Refugee Loans.

small-holders in the Dobruja and repeated frontier incidents remained, along with the perennial dispute as to the treatment of the minorities, constant sources of friction which stood in unflagging derogation of any undue optimism as to the chances of a real rapprochement.

Although Bulgaria continued to complain about the treatment of the minorities in the Dobruja and Rumania countered with flaming denunciation of Comitadji activities, and in spite of the considerable stir created by the assassination in 1931 of a prominent member of the Bulgarian minority in the Dobruja, the year 1932 seemed to mark some improvement in Rumanian-Bulgarian relations; for example, an arrangement was made for the postponement of payments due Rumania from Bulgaria and a project for the construction of a bridge across the Danube was mooted. Then Foreign Minister Titulescu paid a visit to Sofia on October 12-13, 1933, in the course of an extensive Balkan tour, and on October 30th of the same year Kings Carol and Boris met aboard a yacht on the Danube with their respective Premiers and Foreign Ministers present. On that occasion a memorandum was drawn up setting forth the various points calling for settlement; Bulgarian items included demands for minority schools and churches in the Dobruja, compensation for sequestrated Bulgarian property and the construction of the Danube bridge, while Rumania asked for Rumanian schools in the Bulgarian departments of Vidin and Nicopolis and for suitable facilities for the establishment of a Bucharest-Salonika air service.

In January 1934 the King and Queen of Bulgaria, accompanied by their Prime Minister, paid a visit to King Carol at

at Sinaia, and current problems and differences were again discussed. An agreement was reached in July regarding the Bucharest-Salonika air service, but Rumania refused to collaborate on the Danube bridge project in the absence of Bulgaria's adherence to the Balkan Pact or the conclusion of political agreements with Rumania and Yugoslavia. Although little or no progress was made as regards the minorities problems the general atmosphere at this time was, on the whole, reasonably friendly.

In the meantime the Balkan Entente had come into being. Following a recommendation issuing from a meeting of the Universal Peace Congress at Athens October 6 to 10, 1929, suggesting the desirability of annual conferences among the several Balkan States, a first such conference took place at Athens on October 5 to 12, 1930, attended by "unofficial" delegates from Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria and Albania.* The time was propitious because during the preceding years there had been a gradual smoothing out of differences among the various Balkan States and great practical need of communion had grown out of the economic depression. Moreover, Greece and Turkey had pointed the way when they surprised the world by burying the hatchet and reaching a friendly agreement on June 30, 1930.

The first Balkan Conference at Athens brought no startling

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* See pages 145 to 156 of the 1930 volume of the Survey of International Affairs.

startling results, but a second similar conference took place at Istanbul in October 1931, which made some progress. No pact or agreement was possible, however, largely because of Bulgarian insistence that consideration be given to the minorities problems and to the revision of frontiers. A third conference was held at Bucharest from October 23 to 26, 1932, but the Bulgarian delegates retired upon the rejection of their proposal that consideration of a Pact be postponed for a year. They were all back in conference at Salonika on November 5 to 11, 1933, but again Bulgarian insistence on meeting the problems of minorities treatment----Albania, with large minorities in Yugoslavia, was even more vehement on this point----and frontier revision constituted an insurmountable stumbling-block to agreement.

The Balkan Pact of Understanding, or of Mutual Guarantee, was finally signed at Athens on February 9, 1934, largely upon the insistence of Rumanian Foreign Minister Titulescu, who felt that protection of Rumania's Dobrujan frontier would be almost as well served by an encircling pact as one including Bulgaria. But Bulgaria did not participate and Albania, because of that country's entanglement with Italy and fear that King Zog would hedge, was not invited. A copy of the text of the Pact of Balkan Understanding is attached hereto for ready reference. Although bitter resentment was manifest in Bulgaria, which naturally saw a threat to any program of peaceful revision of the treaties in this enveloping

pact,

pact, Titulescu continued endeavors to improve relations between the two countries. When en route to Ankara for the first regular meeting of the Entente in October, he was cordially received when he stopped off at Plovdiv and said:

> "It is unnecessary to repeat how much I regret that Bulgaria is not yet a member of this international community, which has no other objective than that of maintaining peace. I must repeat, however, that which I have said on a number of occasions, and in this I am sure of being a faithful interpreter of all the signatories of the Balkan Pact: We consider Bulgaria, in virtue of the close friendship which binds us with her, as being one of us. We are decided to treat her on all occasions with the same kindly affection as if she had signed the Balkan Pact."

On his return Mr. Titulescu stopped off for two days at Sofia and reiterated his remarks in the following words:

> "The four signatories of the Balkan Pact believe that Bulgaria must be treated with the same friendship as if she had signed the Pact. This is the most eloquent testimonial of the high appreciation with which the work of pacification now being carried on by Bulgaria is looked upon by all. It is also the best evidence that the apprehension that the Balkan Pact is directed against Bulgaria is unfounded."

When Bulgaria concluded the Pact of Non-Aggression with Yugoslavia in 1937, the Rumanian attitude was outwardly one of approbation and neighborly gratification, but beneath the surface were real feelings of misgiving and apprehension lest such a development might portend a weakening of the Balkan Entente structure and the development of a strong Slavic bloc. No open rupture occurred, however, and Sofia was able to speak of improved relations as evidenced by the conclusion of an Air Convention between the two countries.

In

In the following year a Rumanian-Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce was established at Bucharest and the Bulgarian Premier and Foreign Minister, Mr. Kiosseivanoff spoke cordially of friendly relations and collaboration with the Balkan Entente and its component States. There was even substantial speculation on the possibility of finally swinging Bulgaria into the Balkan Entente fold, and this desirable end seemed to loom even on the immediate horizon when Greek Premier Metaxas, as President of the Balkan Entente, and Bulgarian Premier Kiosseivanoff, met at Salonika to sign, on July 31, 1938, an agreement engaging the Balkan Entente States and Bulgaria to refrain from any act of aggression and renouncing the military, naval and aviation clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly, as well as the separate convention regarding the Thracian frontiers signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923. Thus Bulgaria was released from the obligation not to rearm or to fortify the frontiers; a first concrete move was made in the way of voluntary and agreed revision of the postwar treaties. Here was something to give cause for fresh consideration of Balkan possibilities; perhaps, after all, Bulgaria had been won over, had fallen into the Balkan scheme. The Salonika accord was everywhere heralded with enthusiasm as the initial step toward Balkan unity and the inclusion of Bulgaria in the Balkan Entente.

But circumspection lies deep in the soul of a Bulgaria tormented by the injustices of Neuilly, oppressed minorities

minorities, suffocating frontiers, and all the wrongs suffered by a vanquished nation; the road to Balkan solidarity ends at Salonika.

New appearances of improved relations between Rumania and Bulgaria came in 1939----the Bulgarian minority adhered to Rumania's new National Renaissance Front and encouraging talks were held between the Turkish and Bulgarian Premiers at Ankara in March----, but no real progress was made. Then the Belitza incident, in which twenty-three Bulgarians were inexcusably killed in the Dobruja on May 9th,* wiped out any gains that may have been made and Rumanian Foreign Minister Gafencu found in a conversation with the Bulgarian Minister to Turkey at Istanbul that the two countries were still far apart.

The Legation's despatch No.1260 of February 27,1940, reviewed Rumanian-Bulgarian relations for the past few years. It noted occasional exchanges of visits by officials and delegations, endeavors to maintain profitable trade relations, and renewed attention to the creation of an improved ferryboat service over the Danube**, and even referred to hopeful talk of a "Balkan bloc" and an encouragingly cordial exchange of toasts on the occasion of the departure of the Bulgarian Minister (Kirov) to his new post at Ankara. But of special significance was the reference to indications given by Rumanian Foreign Minister Gafencu at the Balkan Entente Conference at Belgrade in February of this year pointing to his country's preparedness

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* See pages 45-46.

** See also Despatch No. 1459 of June 22, 1940.

ness to give postwar consideration to Bulgaria's revisionist claims. Gafencu----and the Conference generally----dropped the accustomed emphasis on "existing frontiers" and gave new place to the word "conciliation".* He is even said to have remarked that Bulgaria's claims, unlike the Russian and Hungarian, were "legitimate". Ever since, it has been in the minds of most observers, whether concerned or impartial, that Rumania has at last seen and recognized the inevitability of a readjustment of frontiers with Bulgaria in the Dobruja; that in return for present Bulgarian restraint an adjustment will be sought at the end of the war.

The new Bulgarian Minister to Rumania (Petroff-Tchomakoff) indicated when he arrived in March of this year that he proposed to endeavor to obtain a clear declaration from the Rumanian Government to the effect that Bulgarian demands were recognized in principle and would be given consideration, but he has so far not succeeded in his aims.

In the meantime, of course, Russia has seized Bessarabia, thus wiping out considerations of precedent, and Rumania has so swung into the orbit of the Rome-Berlin Axis that it is generally assumed that Mr. Hitler's conception of a suitable arrangement of Rumanian-Bulgarian relations will prevail.

* See despatch No.1225 of February 9, 1940.

PROSPECTS, POSSIBLE MODES AND PROBABLE NATURE OF EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT OF THE DOBRUJA QUESTION

Prospects of Settlement

The present prospects of an early settlement of the Dobruja question are good. The idea of an adjustment is in the air; both Rumanians and Bulgarians feel it is imminent. It is discussed in the press, and both diplomatic and journalistic observers have it very much in mind.

Ever since the world war Rumanian foreign policy has been directed toward the "preservation of existing frontiers" and maintenance of the status quo. But the status quo of Europe has suffered some rude shocks in the past two or three years and Rumania's "existing frontiers" have been violated by Russia's seizure of Bessarabia, and so Rumanian foreign policy lies broken and vulnerable to further revisionist onslaught. Besides, Rumania has recently swung sharply into the orbit of the Rome-Berlin Axis; and not only have both Rome and Berlin long taken a friendly and protecting attitude toward Bulgaria, but they are also both exponents of revisionism. Thus the success of German arms has placed the Dobrujan question in a new light.

Rumania can see that the present war has traveled up the steps of unsatisfied revisionist claims and so realizes the desirability of removing such pretexts from this part of the world. Another factor worthy of

consideration

consideration in estimating the prospects of settlement of the Dobrujan question is the totalitarian character of the present regime in Rumania. Any suggestion of possible territorial cessions in the days of party politics which preceded the Royal dictatorship established in February 1938 would have been the signal for a violent attack by the opposition parties and a hopeless tangle of political bickering and agitation which would have precluded any hope of a sober approach to the problem. Now, on the other hand, open political opposition and party activities are abolished; the King operates, theoretically at least, through a single party, his own Party of the Nation. It is true that the Party of the Nation has not been a success and that both Iron Guard and National Peasant elements have made known their determined opposition to any further cessions, but the fact remains that the concentration of power on the totalitarian model should facilitate the handling of such a problem.

Possible Modes of Settlement

Settlement of the Dobrujan question by direct armed conflict between Rumania and Bulgaria would seem at present the least likely of all possible modes. A table of comparative strengths would lie heavily in Rumania's favor from a statistical point of view, despite the Bulgarian boast that one Bulgarian soldier is worth fifty Rumanians, but it seems likely that such considerations are less important than the fact that Bulgaria professes to seek satisfaction only by peaceful means and at the present time has excellent prospects of success without having recourse to war. Of course, if war were to move

into

into this area from other quarters, say, from Russia, then it would be expected that the Bulgarian armies might take appropriate measures to "protect their interests" in the Dobruja. The results of operations in such a case would depend on the larger outside forces rather than the relative military strengths of Rumania and Bulgaria.

It is reasonable to expect that one of two modes of settlement will be adopted: (a) direct negotiation between the two parties concerned, under guiding pressure from Berlin and Rome, or (b) a dictated or negotiated adjustment by the Great Powers at the peace table at the conclusion of the present war. At the present moment indications are not lacking that the former of these two methods will be employed.

Probable Nature of Settlement

The general scheme for a suitable settlement of the problem of the Dobruja is relatively simple, far simpler than, for example, a resolution of the Hungarian question in Transylvania. The essential purposes could be served by Rumania ceding the Quadrilatère and falling back to a line roughly following that established by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 which served as the boundary between the two countries until the Second Balkan War of 1913. Some special attention would have to be given the problem of ensuring an equitable allocation of the town of Silistra and its immediate environs, but otherwise the delimitation should give rise to few difficulties. The settlement could then be concluded by the elaboration of a suitable program for a limited exchange of populations between

Northern

Northern and Southern Dobruja. Such a settlement would solve the Dobruja problem and make possible the establishment of friendly and mutually profitable relations between Rumania and Bulgaria.

CONCLUSION

C O N C L U S I O N

The conclusions of this Memorandum are clearly pointed: (a) The attribution of Southern Dobruja to Rumania in 1913 has ever since constituted a stumbling-block in Rumanian-Bulgarian relations and frustrated all efforts looking to Balkan solidarity in the postwar era; (b) normally friendly relations between Rumania and Bulgaria can be reestablished only after restitution of Southern Dobruja has been made; (c) the merits of the case for Southern Dobruja lie clearly in Bulgaria's favor; and (d) at the present time there are ample indications that the moment for finding a settlement of this problem is near.

Throughout all the postwar play of Balkan politics Bulgaria has not relaxed for an instant the demands for better treatment of the minorities in the Dobruja and for revision of the Dobrujan frontier. Willing to leave Northern Dobruja in Rumania's possession, the succeeding Governments at Sofia have betrayed no spirit of compromise as regards the Quadrilateral of the South. The dispute is not over the Dobruja, but only Southern Dobruja, and Southern Dobruja Bulgaria is determined to have, if

possible

possible by peaceful means. A restoration of Southern Dobruja will make Bulgaria a "satisfied" nation as far as Rumania is concerned and open the way to friendly relations and a spirit of amity and good will between the two countries.

The foregoing pages have tended to suggest that the merits of the case for Southern Dobruja lie clearly in favor of Bulgaria. The Bulgarians are thoroughly convinced of the justice of their cause, impartial observers incline to an acceptance of the Bulgarian thesis, and even Rumanians themselves are coming to recognize in some degree the validity of the Bulgarian claims. Whereas Rumanian arguments are weak ethnologically, historically and practically, and even the pretension of military need is being outmoded by the revolutionized methods of modern warfare, Bulgaria is able to prove ethnological preponderance, a fairly good basis in history, and superior practical and utilitarian need, not to mention a background of maltreatment, deprivation and violation of rights, violence, abuse and terrorization which is extremely useful in the country's propaganda campaign for revision.

The onward march of revisionism during the past two or three years, coming directly home to Rumania in the recent sudden loss of Bessarabia, has prepared the ground for fresh examination of the Dobrujan problem and legitimized Bulgarian hopes that the Quadrilateral can be regained by peaceful means. Another factor of particular significance is the recent reorientation of Rumanian foreign policy toward the Rome-Berlin Axis.

Bucharest

Bucharest is now dancing to Berlin music and the few thousand square miles of Southern Dobruja will form but a small item in the piper's pay. Both Germany and Italy are friendly to Bulgaria and they both are bent on the destruction of the old treaty edifice and the building of a new peace; their guidance and counsel will undoubtedly be in the direction of adjustment of Rumanian-Bulgarian differences. Rumania, too, feels the need for a satisfied and friendly neighbor on the south, realizes that the moment for settlement is near.

The passing of Southern Dobruja into Bulgarian hands in the very near future is a distinct possibility. It is possible that as this final paragraph is being written, with Rumanian Premier Gigurtu and Foreign Minister Manoilescu conferring "on summons" with Messrs. Hitler and von Ribbentrop in Salzburg, the Dobrujan question has been given forced solution. In any case, it is difficult to conceive of a final liquidation of the present war and a general reconstruction of Europe which will leave this disputed area within the frontiers of Rumania.

CKH/bfg/np/af/cil.

List of Enclosures

1. Treaty of Bucharest of July 28, 1913.
2. Minorities Treaty of December 9, 1919.
3. Balkan Pact of February 9, 1934.
4. Rumanian Minorities Statute of August 3, 1938.
5. Map of Rumania (three copies).
6. Map of the Dobruja (three copies).
7. "La Tragedie de Staro Selo", published by the Bulgarian Union for Peace and for the League of Nations (single copy).
8. "Memoire sur la Situation des Minorites Bulgares dans la Dobroudja du Sud", published by the Bulgarian Association for Peace and the League of Nations (single copy).
9. "L'Entente Bulgaro-Roumaine (Premisses)", by Dr. Iv. St. Penakov (single copy).
10. "Une Nouvelle Injustice dans la Dobroudja du Sud (Interdiction pour la population bulgare d'acquérir des biens ruraux)", published by the Union of Bulgarian Associations for Peace and the League of Nations (single copy).
11. "Exces contre la Minorite Bulgare dans la Dobroudja du Sud", published by the Bulgarian Institute of the Minorities (single copy).
12. "Une Nouvelle Tragedie dans la Dobroudja du Sud", published by the Union of Bulgarian Associations for the League of Nations (single copy).
13. "Le Probleme de la Dobroudja du Sud", by Dr. Ivan St. Penakof (single copy).
14. "Une Restitution Historique (la Dobroudja, Terre Roumaine)", by Al. Cioranesco (two copies).
15. "La Dobrodja", by Ponticus (two copies).
16. "The Dobruja Through the Centuries", by Radu Vulpe (single copy).
17. "La Dobroudja", published by the Rumanian Academy (single copy).
18. "The Population of Dobrogea", published by the Institute of Statistics, 1940 (three copies).

Sources

1. "La Tragedie de Staro Selo (6 juillet 1926)", published by the Bulgarian Union for Peace and the League of Nations.

2. "Memoire sur la Situation des Minorites Bulgares dans la Dobroudja du Sud", published by the Bulgarian Association for Peace and the League of Nations.

3. "Le Traite de Neuilly et la Bulgarie", by Professor G. G. Guenov.

4. "Les Minorites Bulgares dans la Dobroudja du Sud", published by the Bulgarian Association for Peace and the League of Nations.

5. "Le Régime de la Propriété Rurale dans la Dobroudja du Sud", published by the Bulgarian Union for Peace and for the League of Nations.

6. "La Situation des Minorités Bulgares (en Yougoslavie et en Grèce, en Roumanie, en Turquie)", published by The Union of Bulgarian Associations for Peace and the League of Nations.

7. "L'Entente Bulgaro-Roumaine (Prémisses)", by Dr. Iv. St. Penakov.

8. "Une Nouvelle Injustice dans la Dobroudja du Sud (Interdiction pour la population bulgare d'acquérir des biens ruraux?", published by the Union of Bulgarian Associations for Peace and the League of Nations.

9. "Excès contre la Minorité Bulgare dans la Dobroudja du Sud", published by the Bulgarian Institute of the Minorities.

10. "Une Nouvelle Tragédie dans la Dobroudja du Sud", published by the Union of Bulgarian Associations for the League of Nations.

11. "Le Problème de la Dobroudja du Sud", by Dr. Ivan St. Penakof.

12. "Une Restitution Historique (la Dobroudja, Terre Roumaine)", by Al. Cioranesco.

13. "La Dobrodja", by Ponticus.

14. "The Dobruja Through the Centuries", by Radu Vulpe.

15. "La Dobroudja", published by the Rumanian Academy.

16. "Survey of International Affairs", published by the British Institute of International Affairs, for the years 1920 to 1936.

17. Encyclopedia Britannica.

18. Rumanian Treaty Series.

19. Miscellaneous Legation records, reference books, conversations and observations.

20. "The Population of Dobrogea", published by the Institute of Statistics, 1940.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 1519 of August 1, 1940 from American Legation at Bucharest, Rumania.

TREATY OF BUCHAREST, JULY 28, 1913

(Translated from "Codul General al Romaniei" Code of Laws of Rumania - Volume II, C. Hamangiu)

1. From the date of the exchange of ratifications of the present Treaty there shall be peace and friendship among His Majesty the King of Rumania, His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, His Majesty the King of Montenegro, His Majesty the King of Serbia and His Majesty the King of the Bulgarians, as well as among their heirs and successors, among the States and their respective subjects.

2. Between the Kingdom of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Rumania, the former frontier between the Danube and the Black Sea is rectified in the following manner, in conformity with the Procès-Verbal signed by the respective military delegates and annexed to Protocol No. 5 of July 22, 1913 of the Bucharest Conference.

The new frontier will start from the Danube above Turtucaia and end at the Black Sea south of Ekrene.

Between these two points the extreme frontier line will follow the line indicated on the maps 1/100,000 and 1/200,000 of the Rumanian Chief of Staff and as described in the present annexed article.

It is formally understood that Bulgaria will remove, within a term of two years, the existing fortification works and will not construct others at Ruschuk, Sumla, in the intermediary districts and within a zone of twenty kilometers around Balcic.

A mixed commission composed of representatives of the two High Contracting Parties, equal in number for both parties, shall be charged within fifteen days following the signature of the present Treaty with the execution on the spot of the line of the new frontier in conformity with the preceding stipulations. This Commission shall preside over the distribution of the land wealth and the capital which might have belonged jointly heretofore to the districts, communes, or the resident peoples divided by the new frontier. In case of disagreement over the line and the measures for execution, the two High Contracting Parties must address themselves to a third friendly Government and ask it to designate an arbitrator whose decision on the points in litigation shall be considered as definitive.

3. In conformity with the Procès-Verbal signed by the respective military delegates and annexed to Protocol No. 9

of

of July 25, 1913, of the Bucharest Conference, the frontier line between the Kingdom of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbia will be as follows:

The frontier line will start from the former frontier from the height of Patarica, will follow the former Turco-Bulgarian frontier and the line of division of the waters between Vardar and Struma, with the exception that the upper valley of Strumiţa will remain Serbian territory, and will terminate at the Belasica mountains where it will touch the Bulgaro-Greek frontier. A detailed description of this frontier and of its line on the map 1/200,000 of the Austrian Chief of Staff are annexed to the present article.

A mixed commission composed of representatives of the two High Contracting Parties, equal in number for both parties, shall be charged, within fifteen days following the signature of the present Treaty, with the execution on the spot of the line of the new frontier in conformity with the above stipulations.

This commission shall preside over the division of the land wealth, the capital which might have belonged jointly heretofore to the districts, the communes or the resident peoples divided by the new frontier. In case of disagreement over the line and the measures for execution, the two High Contracting Parties must address themselves to a third friendly Government and ask that it designate an arbitrator whose decision over the points in litigation shall be considered as definitive.

4. Questions relating to the former Serbo-Bulgarian frontier shall be regulated by an agreement reached by the two High Contracting Parties, mentioned in the annexed Protocol to the present article.

5. The frontier between the Kingdom of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Greece, in conformity with the Procès-Verbal signed by the respective delegates and annexed to Protocol No. 9 of July 25, 1913, of the Bucharest Conference, will be as follows:

The frontier line will start from the new Bulgaro-Serbian frontier on the plane surface of the Belasica crest and end at the mouth of the Mesta River at the Aegean Sea.

Between these two extreme points, the frontier line will follow the line indicated on the map 1/200,000 of the Austrian Chief of Staff and as described in the annex of the present article.

A mixed commission composed of representatives of

the

the two High Contracting Parties, equal in number for both parties, shall be charged within fifteen days from the signing of the present Treaty, with the execution on the spot of the frontier line in conformity with the above stipulations.

This commission shall preside over the division of the land wealth and the capital which might have belonged jointly up to now to the districts, the communes or the resident peoples divided by the new frontier. In case of disagreement over the line and the measures for execution, the two High Contracting Parties must address themselves to a third friendly Government and ask that it designate an arbitrator whose decision over the points in litigation shall be considered as definitive.

It is formally understood that Bulgaria is to desist henceforth from any pretensions over the Island of Crete.

6. The general headquarters of the respective armies shall be immediately informed of the signature of the present Treaty. The Bulgarian Government must return its army to a peace footing the very next day after notification. It shall direct the troops to their garrisons where measures will be taken to return the different reserves to their homes.

Troops whose garrisons are situated in the zone of occupation of the army of one of the High Contracting Parties shall be directed to another point of the former Bulgarian territory and they shall not be able to enter their usual garrisons except after evacuation of the above-mentioned zone of occupation.

7. Evacuation of both the old and new Bulgarian territory shall begin only after demobilization of the Bulgarian Army and shall terminate within fifteen days.

For the Rumanian Army of operations, the zone of demarcation within this term will be indicated by the line Sistov-Lovcea-Turski-Izvor-Glozene-Zlatitza-Mircovo-Araba-Konak-Orchania-Mezdra-Vratza-Bercovitza-Lom-Dunare.

8. Throughout the period of occupation of the Bulgarian territories, the different armies shall preserve the right of requisition in exchange for payment in cash.

They shall have free use of the railway lines for the transport of troops and provisions of any nature without right to the claim of damages by the local authorities.

The sick and wounded shall be under the care of the said armies.

9. As soon as possible after the ratification of

the

the present Treaty, all prisoners of war shall be returned in a reciprocal manner.

The Governments of the High Contracting Parties shall each designate Special Commissioners charged with the receipt of the prisoners.

All prisoners found in the hands of one of the Governments shall be delivered to the Commissioner of the Government to which they belong or to its legally authorized representative, at the place decided upon by the interested parties.

The Governments of the High Contracting Parties shall present to each other reciprocally, and as soon as possible after the delivery of all the prisoners, a report of the direct expenditures made by them for the care and upkeep of the prisoners in the zone of capture or delivery up to the day of their death or return. Compensation shall be made for the difference between the sums owed by Bulgaria to one of the other High Contracting Parties and that owed by the latter to Bulgaria, and the difference shall be paid to the creditor Government as soon as possible after the exchange of the amounts of payments described above.

10. The present Treaty shall be ratified and their ratifications exchanged at Bucharest within a period of fifteen days, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have affixed their signatures and seals.

Done at Bucharest on the 28th day of July of the year nineteen hundred thirteen.

Translated: BFG

CKH/bfg

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 1519, dated August 1, 1940, from the American Legation at BUCHAREST, RUMANIA.

TREATY BETWEEN

THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS

AND RUMANIA

Signed at Paris, December 9, 1919.

(Articles 1 to 11 pertaining to Minorities)

Article 1.

Rumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Article 2.

Rumania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Rumania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Rumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

Article 3.

Subject to the special provisions of the Treaties mentioned below, Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without requirement of any formality all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty within the whole territory of Rumania, including the extensions made by the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary, or

any

any other extensions which may hereafter be made, if such persons are not at that date nationals of a foreign state other than Austria or Hungary.

Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Rumanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Article 4.

Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality persons of Austrian or Hungarian nationality who were born in the territory transferred to Rumania by the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary or subsequently transferred to her, of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Rumanian authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Rumanian nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Rumanian nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Article 5.

Rumania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Austria or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Rumanian nationality.

Article 6.

All persons born in Rumanian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall ipso facto become Rumanian nationals.

Article 7.

Rumania undertakes to recognise as Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory, who do not possess another nationality.

Article 8.

All Rumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Rumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Rumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Rumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Rumanian nationals of non-Rumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

Article 9.

Rumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Rumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 10.

Rumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals of other than Rumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Rumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Rumanian Government from making the teaching of the Rumanian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

Article 11.

Rumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czecklers in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Rumanian State.

CKH/np

Enclosure No.3 to Despatch No. 1519 dated August 1, 1940, from the American Legation, Bucharest.

PACT OF BALKAN UNDERSTANDING OF FEBRUARY 9, 1934.

Article I.

Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, mutually guarantee the security of all their Balkan frontiers.

Article II.

The high contracting parties obligate themselves to agree upon measures to be taken in case of eventualities capable of affecting their interests as defined in this agreement. They pledge themselves not to undertake any political action as regards any other Balkan country not a signatory to the present agreement without previous mutual conference and not to assume any political obligation toward any other Balkan country without the consent of the other contracting parties.

Article III.

This agreement will enter into full force and effect from the time of its signature by all the contracting powers and will be ratified as speedily as possible. It will be open to all Balkan countries, whose adhesion will be favorably looked upon by the contracting parties, and will take effect when the other signatory countries shall have expressed their agreement.

In witness whereof the aforesaid plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty.

Done at Athens, February 9, 1934, in four copies, one of which has been delivered to each of the high contracting parties.

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 1519, dated August 1, 1940, from the American Legation, BUCHAREST, RUMANIA.

RUMANIAN MINORITIES STATUTE OF AUGUST 3, 1938.

Regulations for the Functioning of the Office of the Commissioner General of Minorities.

(Translated from MONITORUL OFICIAL, No. 178 of August 4, 1938).

Article 1. The Office of the Commissioner General of Minorities depends directly from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

Article 2. In addition to the special attributes of the former Direction of Minorities of the Ministry of Cults and Arts, the Office of the Commissioner General of Minorities is also charged with:

(a) Supervision of the application of all legislative and administrative provisions in regard to minorities;

(b) Keeping the competent authorities informed, as occasion requires, to assure the exact, unitary and equitable application of the said legislative and administrative provisions;

(c) Study of problems of every kind in connection with the life of the minorities in the State, proposing to the competent authorities suitable solutions.

Article 3. In general, within the framework of its activity, the Office of the Commissioner General shall keep in mind that:

1. All Rumanians, without distinction of ethnic origin and religious faith are duty bound to consider the Fatherland as the principal basis of their aspiration in life (Article 4 of the Constitution).

2. Rumanian citizens, without distinction as to language, race or religion, are equal before the law, and owe it respect and subordination (Article 5 of the Constitution).

3. The laws in force assure to all Rumanian citizens, without distinction of language, race or religion, the same civil and political rights, the same treatment and the same guarantees. Consequently:

(a) Minority Rumanian citizens are free to utilize their mother tongue in matters of religion, press, in

their

their personal and commercial relations, as well as in meetings and gatherings authorized in conformity with the law and on the basis of statutes approved by the competent authority. At the same time proper facilities shall be provided so that they may utilize the mother tongue before the courts (Article 10 of the Constitution; Articles 8 and 9 of the Law of September 26, 1920; Articles 1, 3 and 24 of the Law of the General Regime of Cults);

(b) Minority citizens enjoy, under the same conditions as other Rumanian citizens, the right to create, conduct and supervise, at their own expense, charitable, religious or social institutions, as well as schools and any other institutions of education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their cult unhampered, in conformity with the law (Article 10 of the Constitution; Article 9 of the Law of September 26, 1920; Articles 1, 14, 15, 16 and 24 of the Law of the General Regime of Cults; Law No.146 of 1925);

(c) In localities where a significant part of the population is formed of minority citizens, institutions of an educational, religious or charitable character, created by those minority citizens, in conformity with the law, shall receive an equitable part of the sums appropriated in the State budget or local budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes, keeping in mind, naturally, the existence of similar State institutions destined for the same minorities (Article 10 of the Law of the General Regime of Cults);

(d) Concerning public instruction in localities inhabited in a large proportion by minority citizens, the Rumanian Government grants every facility to assure to the children of the same minority citizens the possibility of being instructed in their own language in State primary schools (Article 7 of the Law of Primary Teaching);

(e) Finally, minority Rumanian citizens may exercise different professions under the same conditions as the other citizens of the country, being likewise permitted admission to public services, functions, etc. (Article 27 of the Constitution).

Article 4. The opinion of the Office of the Commissioner General shall be requested by the public authorities whenever it is planned to take a measure considered necessary regarding cults, instruction, institutions and, in general, on any question interesting the life of the minorities in the framework of the State.

Article 5. The competent departments shall furnish information and shall place at the disposal of the Office of the Commissioner General all documentary material it requires in connection with its functions.

Article 6. The President of the Council of Ministers may invite the Commissioner General of Minorities to

participate

participate in sessions of the Council whenever questions of race, language or religion are considered that may be of interest to the minorities.

Article 7. The proposals of the Office of the Commissioner General of Minorities shall be made through the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

No one but the President of the Council may intervene with the chiefs of the respective Ministries for the carrying into effect of measures which the Office of the Commissioner General considers necessary. On all other questions the Office of the Commissioner General of Minorities corresponds directly with the Minorities.

Article 8. The services of the Office of the Commissioner General of Minorities shall be divided into several sections. Each section is charged with questions interesting one or more minorities.

The number of employees of the chancellery shall be established by budget.

Article 9. The executive personnel, as well as the rapporteurs, must know the language of the minorities with which they are concerned.

Article 10. The Ministry of Finance shall place at the disposal of the Office of the Commissioner General of Minorities, through the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, the funds necessary for its functioning until the next budget, when these expenditures shall be inscribed in the budget of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

Done at Bucharest, August 3, 1938.

CAROL

President of the Council of Ministers,

MIRON
Patriarch of Rumania.

No.2761.

DOBROGEA

ADMINISTRATIVĂ ȘI FORESTIERĂ

LA SCARA 1m : 300.000

de GENERAL CONST. TEODORESCU

După date oficiale procurate de prefecturile de Județ pe baza ordinului circular al Ministerului de Interne cu No. 6898 din 31 Martie 1933
Pădurile sunt reprezentate după datele procurate de Direcția Pădurilor din Min. de Domenii și C. A. P. S.

28°30
29°
29°30
30°
45°
MARE
NEAGRA
Anadol
Frecăţei
Caraorman
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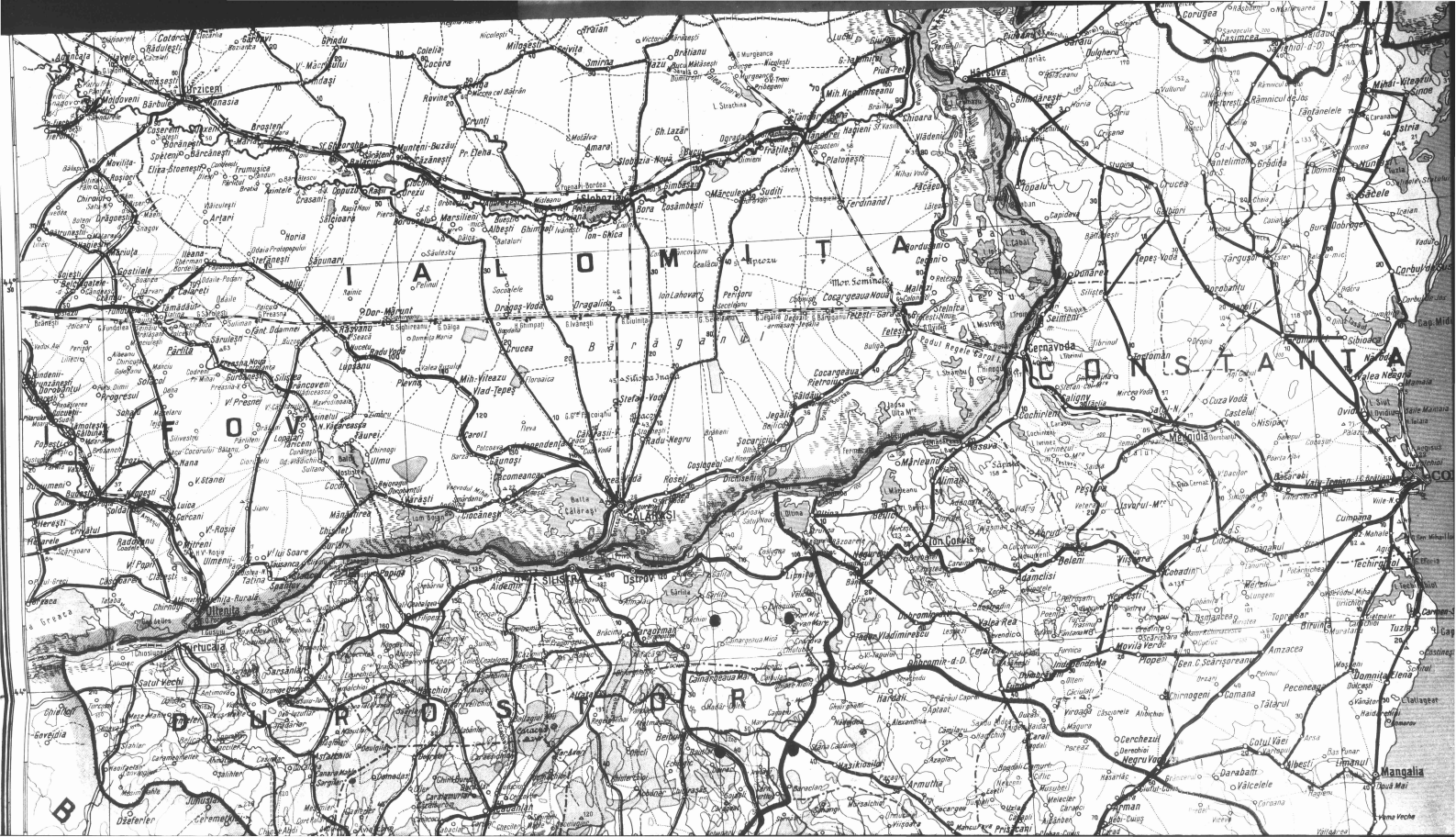

IALOMITA
CONSTANTA
DUROSTOR
Slobozia
Ion-Ghica
Urziceni
Moldoveni
Mihai-Viteazul
Cernavoda
Medgidia
Ion Corvin
Ostrov
Oltenita
Fortucaia
Mangalia
Domnita Elena
Techirghiol
Cumpana
Ovidiu
Basarabi
Valu-Traian
Cocargeaua Noua
Mor. Seminele
Stefan-Vodă
Dragoș-Vodă
Don-Mărunt
Ion Lahovary
Perieru
Sudiți
Ferdinand I
Ghimpați
Marsilienii
Albești
Bălărăuți
Ion-Ghica
Bora
Cosâmbești
Mărculești
Gh. Lazăr
Ograda
Frătești
Platonești
Tăndărei
Nagieni
Sf. Vasile
Chioara
Vlădeni
Hârșova
Ghindărești
Horia
Ciulnița
Dragalina
Ivănești
Bărăganul
Ciocănești
Mănăstirea
Chiselet
Ulmu
Gârnicu
Ciulnița
Ion Corvin
Slobozia-Nouă
Pr. Elena
Crunți
Ravine
Colelia
Coceora
Smirna
Vâlcelele
Cernavoda
Seimeni
Dunăre
Capidava
Stupina
Crucea
Gârlici
Tepeș Vodă
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Techirghiol
Agigea
Carvenii
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Mangalia
Domnita Elena
Peceneag
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Cetatea
Independenței
Dobromir-d-D.
Valea Rea
Movila Verde
Cerchezui
Negru Vodă
Dobromir
Ostrov
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Ciocănești
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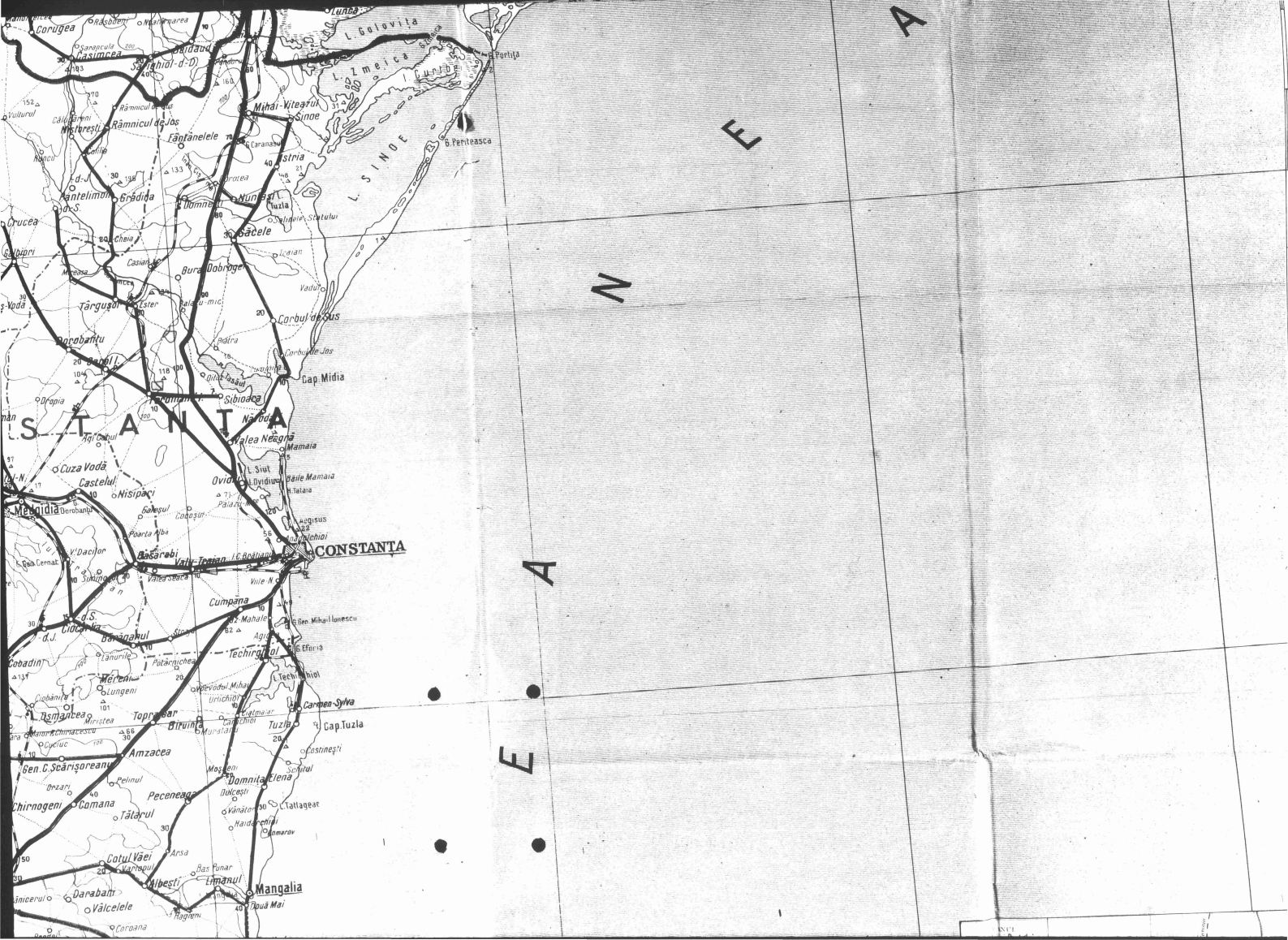
MAREA NEAGRĂ
L. Golovița
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Năvodari
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Gâcele
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Nisipari
Mereidia
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Techirghiol
Carmen-Silva
Cap Tuzla
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Peceneaga
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Mangalia
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Albești
Cotul Văei
Darabani
Vălcelele
Ovidiu
Basarabi
Valu Traian
Bănănăul
Ciocârlia
Topraisar
Bitrina
Tătlageac
Gen. C. Scărișoreanu
Gen. Mihail Ionescu
Eforia
Mahalele
Valea Seacă
Valea Neagră
Dobrogea
Târgușor
Dorobanțu
Poarta Albă
Cobadin
Oltina
Murfatlar
Basarabi
Valu Traian
Ion Brătianu
Ville Nouă
Ville Veche
Cuza Vodă
Agigea
Lazu
Costinești
Vânători
Haidarchioi
Tamarov
Arsa
Bas Tunar
Douăzeci și Cinci Mai
Dunăre
Dunărea
Mangalia
Limanul
Albești
Darabani
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Cotul Văei
Peceneaga
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Dorobanțu
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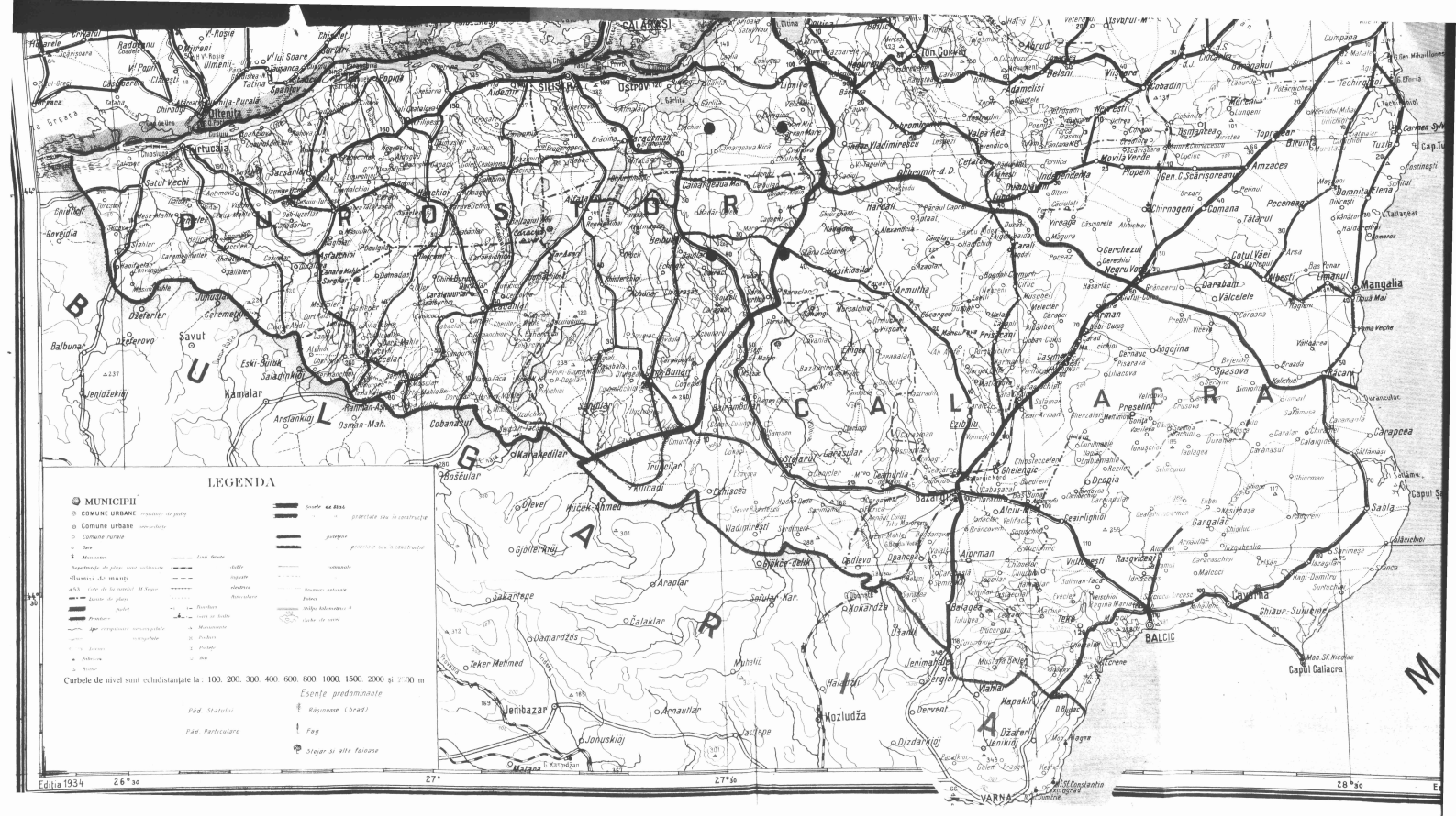
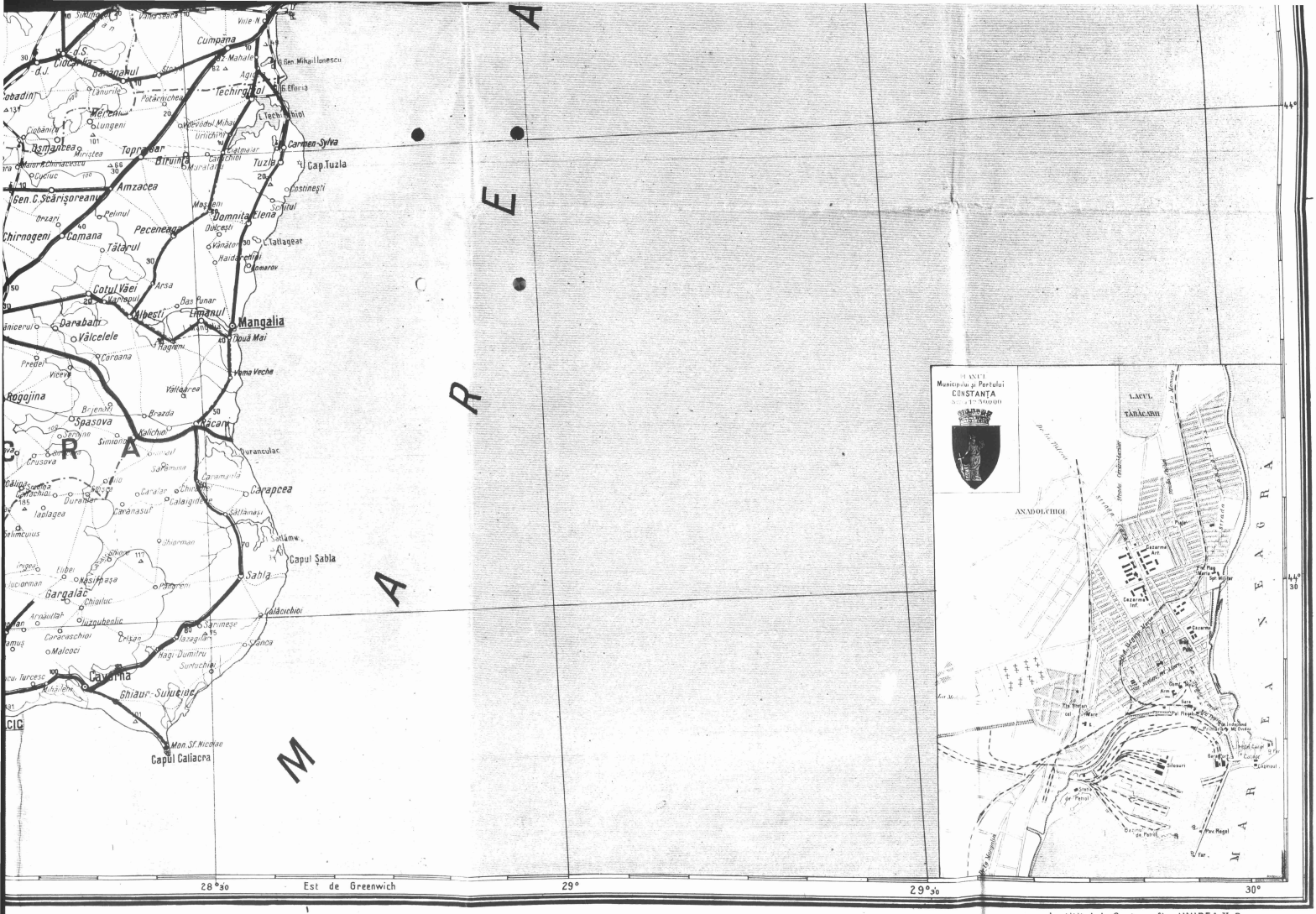
Douăzeci și Cinci Mai


LEGENDA
MUNICIPII
COMUNE URBANE
Comune urbane
Comune rurale
Sate
Curbele de nivel sunt echidistante la : 100. 200. 300. 400. 600. 800. 1000. 1500. 2000 și 2500 m
Esențe predominante
Păd. Statului
Păd. Particulare
Fag
Stejar și alte foioase
DUROSTOR
BULGARIA
CALARAȘI
OSTROV
Silistra
Turtucaia
Balbunar
Ozeferovo
Savut
Kamalar
Osman-Mah.
Cobanasur
Karakeollar
Boșcular
Ciuciuleni
Ghelengic
Dropia
Alciu-Mare
Gargalac
Caramura
Ghiaur-Suluchioi
BALCIC
Capul Caliacra
Jenibazar
Kozluđa
Dervent
Džaferi
Jenikioi
Hapakioi
VARNA
Editia 1934
26°30
27°
27°30
28°30



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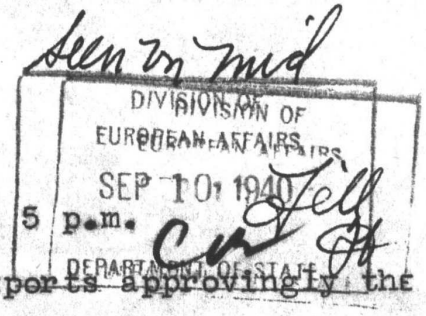
Dated September 9, 1940

Rec'd 6:05 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.



3946, September 9, 5 p.m.

The press today reports approvingly the Rumanian Bulgarian built agreement on the cession of the southern Dobrudja. An editorial in the BOERSEN ZEITUNG this evening states that this voluntary and amicable revision was made possible by the exclusion of British and French intrigues from the Balkan area and the friendly support of Germany and its Axis partner for the territorial claims of its traditional Bulgarian ally. This just settlement it is added will enable the industrious and noble Bulgars to cooperate wholeheartedly with Rumania now purified of its disruptive influences in the tasks which lie ahead of building up and solidifying the new order in Europe under the benevolent guidance of Germany.

KIRK

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FILED
SEP 10 1940

Central File: Decimal File 771.74, Political Relations Of States, Relations; Bi-Lateral Treaties., Romania And Bulgaria, January 10, 1940 - May 22, 1943. January 10, 1940 - May 22, 1943. MS Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1930-1944: Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States, 1940-1944. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FSC5111396534%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 23 June 2025.